INQUIRY

MAGAZINE

DECEMBER 24, 1979 • $1.25

New Jingoism—"Camel Jockeys Go Home"

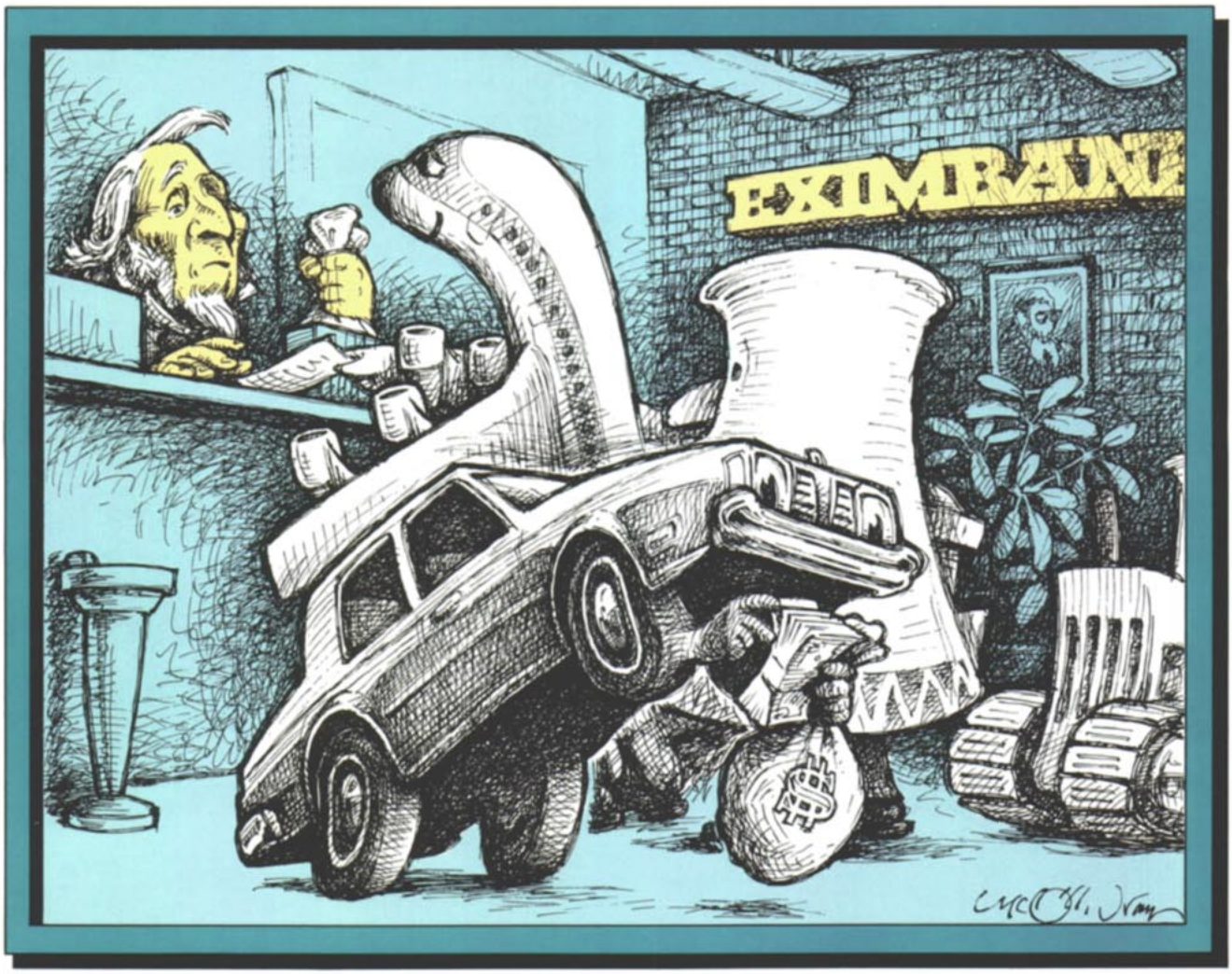
Behind the $88 Billion Synfuel Boondoggle

Uncle Sam's Restive Colony—the Far West

Subsidies for Big Business

THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

By NICHOLAS BURNETT



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This powerful weapon can help free prisoners of conscience all over the world.

There are half a million men and women in prisons around the world for the simple crime of disagreeing with their governments.

From South Africa to the Soviet Union, from Brazil to Korea, authoritarian regimes persist in the barbarian practice of jailing, often torturing, their citizens not for anything they've done, but for what they believe.

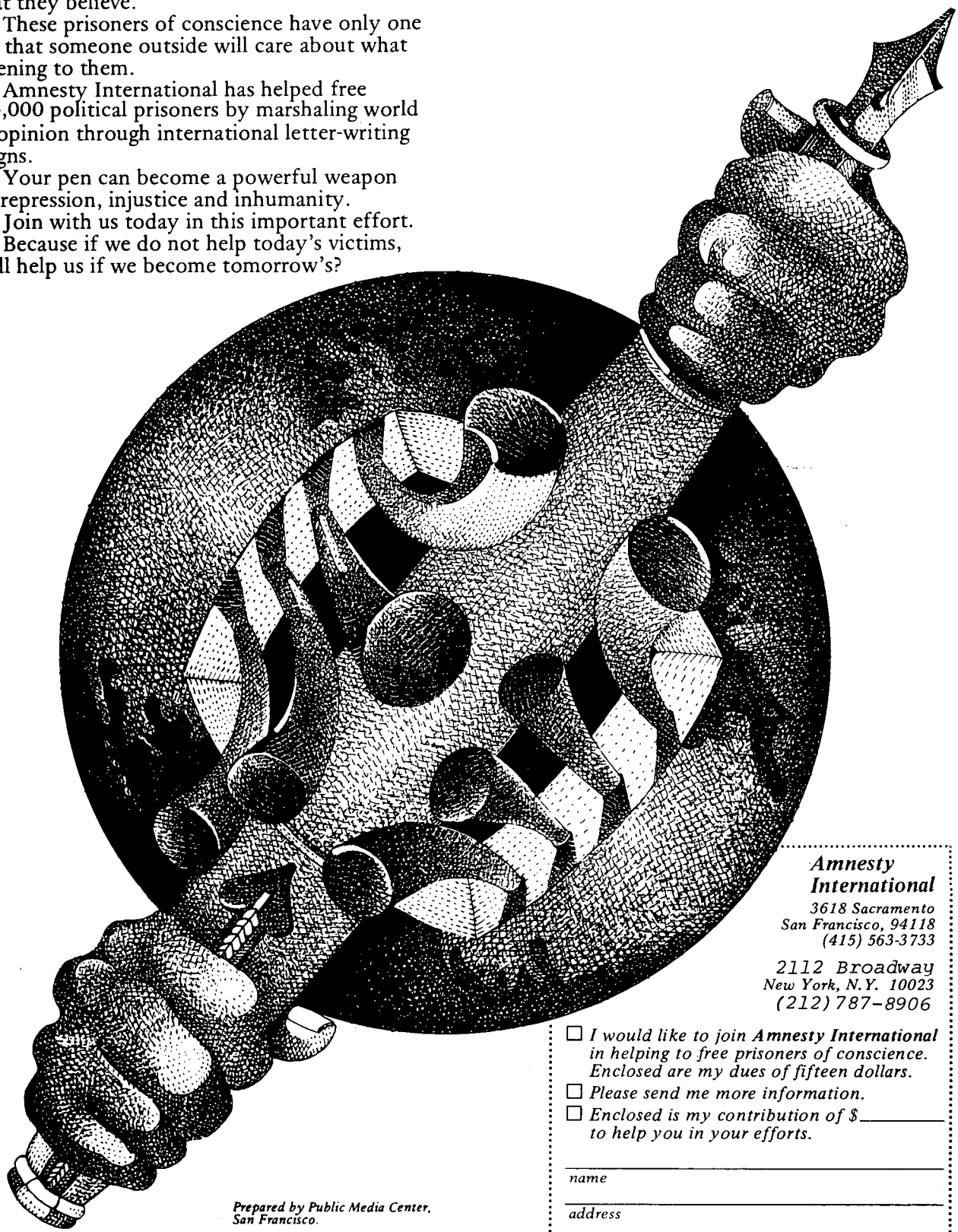
These prisoners of conscience have only one hope – that someone outside will care about what is happening to them.

Amnesty International has helped free over 14,000 political prisoners by marshaling world public opinion through international letter-writing campaigns.

Your pen can become a powerful weapon against repression, injustice and inhumanity.

Join with us today in this important effort.

Because if we do not help today's victims, who will help us if we become tomorrow's?



Prepared by Public Media Center, San Francisco.

Amnesty International

3618 Sacramento
San Francisco, 94118
(415) 563-3733

2112 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10023
(212) 787-8906

☐ *I would like to join* ***Amnesty International*** *in helping to free prisoners of conscience. Enclosed are my dues of fifteen dollars.*

☐ *Please send me more information.*

☐ *Enclosed is my contribution of $_____ to help you in your efforts.*

name _____

address _____

city *state* *zip*

(Dues and donations are tax-deductible)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INQUIRY®

DECEMBER 24, 1979

The Quiet Subsidy

NICHOLAS BURNETT **p. 12**

Dollars that looked like foreign aid have been devoured by big business, and no one has been allowed to see what's going on.

The West takes on Washington

JOSEPH SELDNER **p. 17**

The westerners are getting restless, as federal land bureaucrats threaten their livelihoods.

COLUMNS & REVIEWS

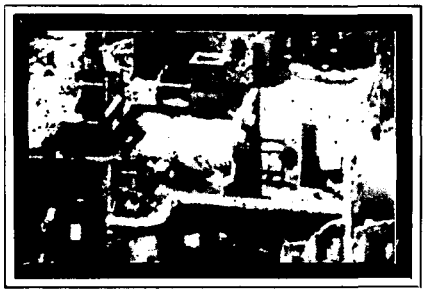
Inquiries ..... **p. 3**
The hostage crisis; Schools as scandals.

Bread & Circuses ..... **p. 7**
Spying back. Turnabout doesn't look like fair play when the feds become the quarry. (*PHIL STANFORD*)

Politics ..... **p. 9**
Street action in Gotham. Whether the target is prostitutes or pushcarts, squelching one group usually benefits another. (*MURRAY N. ROTHBARD*)

Corporate State ..... **p. 10**
Synfuel Bandwagon. After all the frustration and stalling over the energy crisis, suddenly the solution seemed simple—and very expensive. (*BRUCE BARTLETT*)

Poetry ..... **p. 22**
Pandora, by Charlea Massion.



Books ..... **p. 21**
Geoffrey Wheatcroft on *Bomber Command,* by Max Hastings; Noel Perrin on *The State of the Language,* edited by Leonard Michaels and Christopher Ricks; Mary Midgley on *The Biology of Peace and War,* by Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt; Guy Davenport on *Peale's Museum* 1784–1854, by Charles Coleman Sellers.

Film ..... **p. 30**
Stephen Harvey on *French Postcards, Head Over Heels,* and *Starting Over.*

Typography by MACKENZIE-HARRIS AND SOLOTYPE

INQUIRY MAGAZINE (USPS 439-090), Volume 3, Number 2, December 24, 1979. Published semimonthly except for January, June, July, and August, when monthly. INQUIRY is published by the Cato Institute, 1700 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111. Editorial and advertising offices: 1700 Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111, (415) 433-4319. Second-class postage paid at Palo Alto, CA, and additional mailing offices. Annual subscription price: $12.50; single-copy price: $1.25. Overseas subscription price: $23.50 surface mail; $45.00 airmail. Send subscription requests and address corrections to: P.O. Box 2500, Menlo Park, CA 94025. POSTMASTER: Send address corrections to P.O. Box 2500, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Copyright 1979 by Cato Institute.

ISSN No. 0148-5008.

A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

THE EVENTS IN IRAN have brought the United States—and the world—one small step closer to war. An impassioned and frustrated American public, outraged by the seizure of the United States embassy in Tehran and the taking of its personnel as hostages, seems to have lost sight of the genuine grievances the people of Iran have against the deposed shah. Our editorial response tries to put these events in perspective and argues that our best hope to free the hostages lies not in saber-rattling but in quiet diplomacy. This issue of *INQUIRY* also includes a close look at the Export-Import Bank by Nicholas Burnett, who shows that, for all the talk about foreign aid being a high-water mark of American selflessness, where there's a chance to get at government largesse, some companies will be in there feeding at the trough.

EDWARD H. CRANE III, Publisher

WILLIAMSON M. EVERS, Editor
RALPH RAICO, Senior Editor
DAVID GORDON, Editorial Associate
RUTH K. FRANKLIN, Copy Editor
ROBERT THOMPSON, Research Associate
BLAKE HALLANAN, Librarian

WENDY SCHWARTZ, Art Director
SUSAN STROTMAN, Production Manager
MARIANNE ACKERMAN, Assistant Art Director
BRUCE MCGILLIVRAY, Staff Illustrator
JANIS COLLINS, CHRIS HUTMACHER, JUDITH CHAMPAGNE, Staff

RONALD HAMOWY, Consulting Editor

WILLIAM ABRAHAMS, BARTON J. BERNSTEIN, DIANE DIVOKY, PENNY LERNOUX, JONATHAN MARSHALL, EARL C. RAVENAL, MURRAY N. ROTHBARD, PETER SCHRAG, WILLIAM SHAWCROSS, ROSE STYRON, THOMAS SZASZ, NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, Contributing Editors; PHIL STANFORD, Washington Correspondent; STEPHEN HARVEY, Films; DANA GIOIA, Literature

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RES PUBLICA

Black is the color of my true love's caudal fin

■ Katherine Fletcher is an assistant director of the President's Domestic Policy Staff, responsible for environmental matters. Kenneth S. Weiner is executive director of the Council on Environmental Quality. They met while working together for the Administration and, as might be expected, found they shared many interests, so much so that for a Halloween party at the council they walked along Pennsylvania Avenue, he dressed as a snail darter, she as the Tellico Dam.

In any event, love bloomed, and they decided to get married.

—New York Times, Nov. 11, 1979

Libra de Quaddafi aida mondo lingua

■ According to [the latest volume of the Green Book by Colonal Quaddafi of Libya], most of the disunity in the world is caused by unnatural divisions exacerbated by nationalistic and religious tensions. One solution, he suggests, is a single world language.

—The Middle East, October, 1979

U.S. adopts isolationist policy

■ The prize for the most baffling recorded vote in this year's General Assembly may go to the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee and "the comma proposed by Thailand."

The committee was grinding out a resolution routinely adopted here each year, expressing "strong support for the national liberation struggle against racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, colonialism and alien domination and for self-determination by all means, including armed struggle."

Then the Thai delegate, M. L. Birabhongse Kasemsri, proposed inserting a comma after "alien domination." No one has yet been able to explain what possible difference it could make. But a vote was taken. The comma lost, 17 to 38, with 61 abstentions. The United States delegate, Esther Coopersmith, stayed out of this one.

—New York Times, Nov. 12, 1979

Coming in on a wing and a prayer

■ Two of the nation's newest fighter airplanes, the F15 and F16, are in deep trouble, government officials acknowledged yesterday.

The engines already built for them are breaking down frequently, thus grounding the planes, and new engines are going to be delivered late.

An Air Force spokesman confirmed yesterday that his service may have to take delivery on F15 fighters with gaping holes where the engines should be.

—Washington Post, Oct. 23, 1979

Officers and gentlemen

■ West Point officials admitted yesterday that some women cadets were forced to kill chickens with their teeth during last summer's training exercises.

Women, [Lieutenant General Andrew J. Goodpaster, the superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy] said, were forced to kill the chickens by biting across the tendons of the chicken's necks.

"They would pick out the woman in the platoon who seemed to be the most squeamish and call on her to do it," he said.

Such "pranks" had occurred at the academy in the past, but had always been taken to be "good-humored" jokes, the general said.

—San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 10, 1979

We move our tail for you

■ Overweight federal employes are flying first class at taxpayers' expense, despite a crackdown on abuse of such travel ordered last year by the White House.

Under federal regulations, all it takes for bureaucrats to ride first class is a note from a doctor that the employe's derriere is too big to fit comfortably into the coach seats of commercial aircraft, which are 17 to 18 inches wide. Seats in first class are 20 to 21 inches wide.

—Los Angeles Times, Sept. 27, 1979

No, no, not the chartreuse cell

■ Two cells at the Santa Clara County [California] jail have been painted hot pink to test a theory that the color of a person's surroundings affects his behavior.

The new color scheme has had mixed results, the jail commander, Lieut. Paul Becker, said. "When it's used properly there's a difference," he said. "You take a guy who's hostile and leave him in the strip cell for 15 minutes and he won't be quite as hostile.

"But after 20 minutes it has a reverse effect," he said. "We left some guys in the holding cell for about three hours and they tore some of the paint off the walls.

"We are going to repaint the holding cell blue or yellow," Lieutenant Becker said. "Back east, a store which had a high incidence of theft painted its walls and counters yellow and the theft dropped to one-fourth their former level. Blue also is a very healthy color."

—New York Times, Nov. 13, 1979

Generalized erroneous conditions occasioned to the consulting

■ [Senator David Pryor, Democrat of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Civil Service and General Services] contended that "we still do not know how many consultants the Government uses, how much they are paid or what benefit the Government derives from these particular services."

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, he said, dismissed a $100-a-day consultant it had hired to evaluate federally financed educational programs. The final report contained a sentence that read: "The objectives did not specify to the quantifiable of the success of the proposed program."

Before he was dismissed, the consultant had been paid $900.

—New York Times, Oct. 13, 1979

Burrocratic euphemism

■ For the past three years, National Park Service officials have searched for a way to rid the Grand Canyon of some 300 wild African burros, descendants of pack animals turned loose by prospectors after the Gold Rush a century and a quarter ago.

The focus of the controversy is the Park Service's voluminous "Federal Burro Management and Ecosystem Restoration Statement," in which the preferred option is "direct reduction."

"Shooting," said park official James E. Walters, "is an inflammatory word."

—San Francisco Chronicle, Nov. 15, 1979

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The perils of war fever

The hostage crisis

THERE ARE MANY LESSONS TO BE learned from the crisis over the American hostages in Tehran. The most important is that the Carter administration foreign policy, with its selective human-rights crusades, hardly encourages American public opinion to support peace and rationality in foreign relations. The President's reaction to the taking of the hostages—namely, banning oil imports from Iran and deporting Iranian students who have violated some clause of their visas—is welcomed, even among the liberal establishment's Best and Brightest, as rallying Americans and providing them with a sense of national purpose. To the *New York Times*, Carter's action "summons the entire nation to join in the defense of principle"; to the *Times*'s most liberal and supposedly dovish columnist, Tom Wicker, the action, though admittedly futile, should be backed to the hilt as showing "many impatient Americans that *something* punitive is being done."

Moreover, to Wicker the hostage situation is important because it gives the nation "as dramatic a cause as it will ever have" for embarking on fuel conservation—an odd embrace of what is certainly a rather grisly way to unite the populace behind Carter's energy policy. Not only that: Although Wicker is almost alone in pointing out that the Iranians are reacting to decades of American support for the brutal dictatorship of the shah, he goes far beyond the many commentators who dismiss the Ayatollah Khomeini as a "fanatic" and a "madman." After acknowledging that Iranians from all walks of life cheered the ayatollah's November 10 anti-American speech, Wicker concludes that the entire Iranian nation has gone mad; as he puts it, "what is happening in Iran defies any rational process of cause and effect."

A corollary lesson of the Iranian crisis is that American political leaders are overconfident when they imagine that they will be able to keep tight control of public opinion during foreign policy crusades. The enthusiasms they set in motion can boomerang. In the case of Iran, the present administration first made clear to the public in both policy pronouncements and toasts at formal dinners that the U.S. government supported the shah, our loyal ally, in his struggle against what were supposed to be Islamic Marxists. At that time, there was talk of a "quick-strike" force to be used in the Persian Gulf. The public has since been informed that Iran was located in a "crescent of crisis" in which the Russians were taking over. To make matters worse, American officials said that the Iranians were to blame for last spring's gasoline lines. It should be no surprise that now the American public is hopped up. What is surprising is the astonishment of the foreign policy establishment at the mood it helped engender here.

Whatever one may say about the ayatollah—and he is no Westernizing liberal, no devotee of civil liberties—he is certainly no Communist or puppet of the Kremlin. And yet this by-now obvious fact has not seemed to dampen the chauvinist emotions of the American public. When one looks at the numerous anti-Iranian demonstrations occurring throughout the country, it is clear that, given this preparation, all it took was a simple pricking of American pride for an unusually ugly patriotism to emerge. At countless demonstrations, banners are raised with such slogans as "Camel Jockeys, Go Home" and numerous Americans cry out that "we should nuke 'em." This reeks far more of Teddy Roosevelt than of sophisticated anti-Communist rationales dreamed up by the Rand Corporation or the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. At one rally, a picture of the late John Wayne was flashed on the screen, apparently in the hope that Americans would be inspired to mimic the juvenile heroics Wayne personified in the movies. Perhaps the most grotesque moment came during an anti-Iranian rally in Houston, when a mob, singing "America the Beautiful," burned an Iranian flag. Is this what "America the Beautiful" signifies to these Americans—the burning of some other country's flag?

Let us remember that for three decades, America has been the bully dominating most of the world and altering the governments of other nations according to its imperial will. Let us not forget that it was America that poured in many billions of dollars in arms and other aid to prop up the very shah whose regime Amnesty International said had the worst human-rights record in the world. And let us not forget that when the Iranians deposed the shah in 1953, it was the American CIA that placed this cruel and hated monarch back on the throne. Let us not forget because the Iranians, who suffered under his regime, have definitely not forgotten. The people of Iran see the asylum given to the shah as a reaffirmation of the American government's past support for his reign and its opposition to the Khomeini revolution. It is we who so conveniently forget the thirty-five years of U.S. government complicity in the shah's crimes and who are now surprised and stunned at the anti-American rage of the Iranians.

Let us go on to consider some other questions raised by this peculiar episode.

1. *Doesn't the fact that American citizens are being held hostage mean that the U.S. government should ensure their rescue?* Though they are understandable, the disproportionate passions in this case are troubling. It does not set well for a civilized nation like America to be so worked up over the obviously unfortunate seizure of American hostages in Tehran and so comparatively uninterested in a myriad of other evil deeds in the world. The Emperor Bokassa murders dozens of children; the dictator of Equatorial Guinea drives half his subjects into exile; tens, possibly hundreds of thousands of Cambodians are slaughtered by Pol Pot; and numerous Italians are kidnapped by bandits and political gangs. Why didn't these horrors send Americans into conniption fits and lead them to demonstrate? Why the delirium in one case and the studied indifference to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these other, more heinous crimes? It seems that we have a tribal, or national, double standard.

It might be objected that, in contrast to these other situations, the hostages at the Tehran embassy, since they are mainly Americans, are uniquely the responsibility of the American government, which should provide for their safety.

But their safety where? Every government possesses a monopoly on legal, organized violence in its particular territory. Any attempt to extend its coercive power to some other state's area will touch off a war, which, in our age of highly destructive weaponry, will necessarily involve the mass murder of innocent civilians on both sides. Therefore, each state must confine the exercise of its police powers strictly to the geographic area where it really enjoys a monopoly of coercion.

Thus it is perfectly legitimate to say that in a world of states, it is the responsibility of the United States government to protect the lives and property of its subjects—but only those who are within its territorial area, under the jurisdiction of the United States. As for American citizens abroad, we must simply espouse the hard doctrine that they have to take their chances. If they encounter trouble beyond the area over which the American government can exercise a quiet monopoly of control, it is not worth embroiling other Americans in a war on their behalf.

The plight of the hostages in Tehran must be put into perspective. Nobody forced them to go beyond the boundaries of the United States. They knew that Iran was in a revolutionary ferment and that the dominant feeling there was anti-American. It is not incumbent on the rest of us to gallop, John Wayne–like, to their rescue.

2. *But isn't any American embassy American soil, and aren't embassies supposed to be inviolable?* It is certainly true that diplomats have always wanted embassies to be treated as inviolate, but the reason is pragmatic rather than moral: The idea that a country's embassy in each foreign land is part of that country's sovereign soil is only a quaint fiction, designed to add to the aura of sanctity. On the other hand, it should be recalled that the foreign legations in Peking were besieged by the Chinese during the Boxer Rebellion, an episode rather reminiscent of the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Embassies are clearly very helpful for dealings among nations, and harassment of embassies makes such dealings difficult and hazardous. Thus no government will welcome the notion of invading embassies. This vital fact, indeed, provides the best long-run hope for freeing the hostages and ending the crisis.

3. *What of the right to asylum and the request to turn over the shah?* Under the overriding principle that a government's jurisdiction should not extend beyond its territory, the country to which a political fugitive flees certainly has the right—and in fact the duty—to turn down a request for his extradition. But just because the Mexican or the U.S. government should allow the shah to stay within its borders does not mean that that government should provide him with expensive special police protection, or that those with private grievances against the shah should feel inhibited by his refugee status. They should feel free to get at him via lawsuits and other means.

On the same grounds, neither should the U.S. government deport Iranian students, whether they have the proper documents or not. If America is to be a place of refuge for mankind, we should deport neither the shah nor any other Iranians. In fact, since the shah is clearly a mass murderer and torturer and most of the Iranian students here have committed no crimes whatsoever, if any Iranian is to be deported, it should be the shah.

The Carter administration allowed the ailing shah into the country, knowing that the Iranians would regard this as a slap in the face. The administration was therefore initially unwilling, but was persuaded to admit the shah by his good friends Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller. (The Iranians, in fact, do not believe the shah is ill. They point to an August 2 secret memorandum, discovered by the students occupying the embassy, in which State Department officials discussed bringing the shah to the United States at the end of 1979.)

4. *But shouldn't the guilty be punished?* Of course. But in the Tehran embassy case, we are confronted with two difficult problems: Who should punish the guilty, and how may they be punished?

First, as we have said, the American government has a monopoly of force on American territory to punish criminals. But on foreign soil it possesses no such monopoly, and "punishment" is no longer a police action; it is an act of military intervention and war. Citizens abroad, on foreign soil, must take their own risks, and the home government has neither the responsibility nor the right to use force for their defense or for retribution.

More crucially, punishing the guilty, important though it be, is not the overriding goal in life. There is at least one thing more important than apprehending and punishing the guilty: protecting the innocent. The innocent may not be murdered in order to catch the guilty. Suppose, for example, that police are chasing a criminal fleeing down a crowded street. May they, in order to catch that criminal, spray the street with machine-gun fire, killing dozens of innocent strollers along with the fugitive? Certainly not. In just the same way, it is morally impermissible for the American government to launch a military offensive against Iran in order to punish the student-kidnappers, or even the Khomeini regime. Countless innocent civilians, Iranian and even American, would be injured or killed in the process. The American embassy in Iran is in the middle of a crowded city jammed with civilians who would understandably consider American military action aggression against their soil and people. This is no Entebbe, where Idi Amin was thoughtless enough to keep his captives at the airport, conveniently ready for an Israeli commando raid.

Yet many American commentators and politicians have suggested military action. George Bush has called for a secret paramilitary rescue effort. House minority leader John Rhodes of Arizona has proposed that the CIA oust Khomeini. Speaking of the Tehran situation, John Connally said: "If appeasement were an art form, this administration would be the Rembrandt of our time." Representative George Hansen (R-Idaho) threatened an impeachment drive against Carter for his failure to act.

Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia) said the United States must take "punitive action" if any hostages were harmed, and the *New York Times* said in an editorial that an attack by American troops would be the likely response to such harm. *New York Times* military expert Drew Middleton said that a paratroop raid by U.S. "quick-strike" units to seize the embassy and Tehran airport "would be possible." As of this writing, the Carter administration has sent two aircraft carriers to the Arabian Sea, south of Iran; the White House maintains that the taking of the Tehran embassy falls under Article 51 of the United Nations charter—in which countries reserve the right of self-defense in case of attack or invasion

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

–and says the United States does not rule out the use of force n the Iran situation.

But what should President Carter do in the current crisis? One thing he must not do, regardless of what happens to the hostages, is launch any kind of military attack on Iran; this would escalate the affair from an ugly incident into a war. Second, he should not take out his frustrations on innocent Iranian students residing in the United States; to punish them for the actions of others in Tehran is to engage in collective reprisal, a practice that is offensive to liberal values. Nor should the administration be trying—through bans on demonstrations or protective custody—to deny the First Amendment rights of Iranians and Americans in this country who support the Khomeini government. Third, though embargoing Iranian oil may be an easy way for politicians to impose unwelcome energy rationing on the public and at the same time make citizens proud of their self-sacrifice, it won't do a thing to help the hostages or resolve the crisis.

Neither should the Carter administration betray the libertarian and traditional American principle of asylum by sending the shah back to Iran, criminal though he doubtless is. Nor should the administration force the already overloaded American taxpayer to compensate Iranians for the shah's enormous thefts from the Iranian people. It is unfortunate that the United States aided and abetted this plundering, but forcing innocent American taxpayers to pay reparations would simply compound the wrong.

The Carter administration should firmly adhere to its stance that it will not violate the principle of asylum, even to solve the current crisis. And, the administration should continue to explore every avenue of quiet diplomacy. It should work to obtain the moral support of other nations of the world, regardless of creed or social system; they are, after all, concerned about the inviolability of their own embassies throughout the world. And it must treat the leaders of the Khomeini regime not as madmen (which they are not), but as men of passion and principle whose beliefs differ in many ways from our own. And then, finally, we must hope for the best in this very imperfect world. ❑

The blackboard jungle

Schools as scandals

WHAT INSTITUTION CONFINES people against their will, is beset with violence and vandalism, and is staffed by people a high percentage of whom are uneducated? A prison? Yes, but public schools also meet all these baleful standards; indeed, so serious has the crisis in state-controlled schools become that perhaps one ought to drop the pretense and openly call them detention centers.

"New York City school coordinators act out simulated knife fight in training for security work." This legend appeared under a photograph recently in the *New York Times*. Last year in the New York City school system, there were 1856 assaults, 1097 robberies, and 310 suspicious fires. In other parts of the state, 400 secondary-school teachers are attacked each month. And New York is not unusual; the national data prove this general crisis in state education. As the National Institute of Education reported to Congress last year, in a typical month the nation's schools have 2.4 million thefts, 280,000 assaults on students, and 5200 assaults on teachers. In the relatively placid state of Connecticut, 18 percent of the high-school teachers in large cities have been assaulted.

Why must students, most of whom probably wish only to be left alone, face conditions of this kind? Compulsory attendance laws force most minors into schools to get the alleged benefits of a "free public education." Parents, of course, may send their children to private schools in order to keep them away from violence of this type. But the heavy tax burden imposed by the public school system makes it difficult, if not impossible, for many to do this. Small wonder that the inmates of these schools "vote with their feet" by refusing to attend. In New York City, truancy runs as high as 20 percent in many secondary schools. Those students who are frustrated at being kept in school against their will let out their anger against whatever target comes along. Dissatisfied and uninterested, they would prefer a job and some money in their pockets. But instead they are required to listen to material they have no use for and do not wish to hear. And to move one step closer to the role of the conventional detention center, many juvenile courts, reluctant to commit young hoodlums to jail, simply return them to their schoolrooms, where they prey on their less aggressive classmates.

The school bureaucracies propose remedies that are, predictably, too little and too late. Suspension from school for an extended period often requires a formal hearing, and the student charged may even have an attorney present. Such time-consuming procedures, though appropriate for a public institution, make it impossible to handle the problems of school violence effectively.

Even though they would agree that this violence is deplorable, some people are willing to put up with it so that children may have a free education. Whatever the benefits of twelve years of schooling may be, students stand a poor chance of obtaining them from a public school. Last summer, half the applicants for teaching positions in Houston scored lower in mathematical achievement than the average high school junior. The teacher has become more of a babysitter and policeman than an instructor. What little time remains for teaching after discipline problems have been handled is often devoted to homemaking, guidance counseling, physical education, and other topics remote from basic education. The results should not be surprising. At least one out of ten students nearing the end of high school cannot read at even the basic level required to perform the most elementary social tasks, like filling out a job application.

Here then is the paradox. A social institution does not do what it is supposed to do and instead becomes a breeding ground for violent crime. Yet no matter how deplorable the schools have become, administrators can only suggest pouring more money into useless evaluations and programs. A more drastic remedy is required. Is it not obvious that the state has proven itself, over the course of a hundred years, ill-equipped to handle the area of education altogether? The contrast with private schools is striking. A year's tuition for a day student at Andover, one of the best private schools in the country, is only about 35 percent higher than the annual cost per pupil in the public schools of New York City. Yet the New York school system is among the worst in the country. The state's failure here should occasion no more surprise than its incompetence in managing the post office or any other of its bureaucratic agencies. The schools should be entrusted to those who can do the job properly, not to the state. ❑

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Letters to the editor should be addressed to INQUIRY Magazine, 1700 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for length when necessary.

Kudos

PLEASE LET ME EXPRESS MY extreme gratification and pleasure over your article *Dan White's San Francisco*, by Warren Hinckle [Oct. 29, 1979]. It is the first piece I have ever encountered in the "straight press" that even begins to approach a level of journalistic competence in dealing with gay issues.

It is particularly satisfying to read such an article after seeing so many articles about the murders in so many other journals that were at best superficial, and at worst downright repulsive (the article in *Rolling Stone* was in my mind particularly offensive).

HARRY M. KEVORKIAN

Hinckle's hang-ups

IN WARREN HINCKLE'S ARticle on the Dan White case [Oct. 29, 1979], I find a plethora of references to the Catholic religion and the Irish nationality. We see White as a "devout Catholic"; in "old Irish-Catholic San Francisco"; a seeker after "Irish manhood." The number of Catholics on the jury seems to be significant to Hinckle but he does not give the number.

All of this leads up to the thrust of the piece, which is that the district attorney overlooked important political and emotional factors in the case—an excellent point.

With so much emphasis on religion and national origin, I think it is fair to infer that Hinckle is telling us religion (Catholic) and race (Irish) were important ingredients in the explosive that ripped City Hall last Nov. 27.

A better case could be made, from facts without innuendo, for a quite contrary analysis. Namely, that the Irish Catholic culture of San Francisco, if there is such a culture, created the situation that White was attacking, the liberality of the city that made it a haven for Jim Jones and the gays. It could be argued quite strongly that George Moscone represented the city's "Irish Catholic" political culture. He was the one who poured the drinks, not the one who pulled the gun. Indeed, Moscone, despite his name, fits more accurately in it than White does. Moscone was seen regularly at mass. The nuns wept profusely at his funeral in the cathedral. He graduated from a local Catholic college. He ploughed his way up in politics without making any money at it. White didn't finish at Reardon High School.

But it is really doubtful that the religion or race of either man was very pertinent. All the big shots who turn up in City Hall on St. Patrick's Day wearing shamrocks—what have they got to link them with Irish culture when they can't name four cities in Ireland? Or with the Catholic church if they haven't been at mass in years?

Who represents San Francisco's Irish Catholic culture? How many of the gays are Irish? Catholic? What difference does it make? None.

I do not know Hinckle's race or religion. But I can recognize a writer with a hang-up, and he has one about the Irish race and the Catholic religion. And I am tired of seeing people with hang-ups make unwarranted sideswipes against religions and races that are, or at least were, civilizing influences in San Francisco and elsewhere.

RICHARD M. HARNETT
South San Francisco, Calif.

Warren Hinckle's Irish Catholic heritage is obvious to all who know him. —EDITORS

All in the family

I AM A SUBSCRIBER TO YOUR journal and generally enjoy *INQUIRY*, although I often feel you fail to go far enough in criticizing authoritarianism and sometimes seem to view the authority of various governments as the only evil. Your editorial on the Chad Green "case" [Nov. 26, 1979] is a case in point.

In this editorial you criticize the state for intruding into family life and supplanting family discipline, and thereby killing Chad. I find this a rather simplistic view of a complex incident. As an anarchist, I oppose all authority, inclu ing and especially the power of paren over children, as well as the power of t state over persons in general. In Chad case, two powers, his parents and t Commonwealth of Massachusetts we locked in a struggle over which of the would be allowed to impose its views appropriate therapy on a powerle child.

Why are we to assume that paren are more fair or loving or correct tha the state? One need only look at chil abuse statistics to see that the family a parents can be at least as vicious as t state, and often are. Unfortunately y seem to have fallen in with the comm view that biological parentage entitl one to control the life and behavior another, an idea as authoritarian as belief in the goodness of the state. Cha should not have been viewed as t property of family or state, but as a autonomous individual with a medic problem requiring assistance fro whomever was willing and able to gi it. Perhaps if the property view of ch dren was done away with, some fair a reasonable decision could have be made in Chad's case without increasi the power of either family or state.

JOE PEACOTT
Jamaica Plain, Ma

It seems to us that the unavoidable choice these cases is between the family and outsid as to who has the initial right to care for t child. Peacott is inclined to prefer giving a rig of intervention to outsiders, though because of bad past performance he wants to exclude t government. Instead he wants to regularly lea the medical care of children in the hands passers-by. Aside from some obvious proble of unworkability, Peacott's approach provid no way to arbitrate between the pro-Laetr and anti-Laetrile passers-by. Instead of getti sidetracked here by the separate though seriö problem of child beating, we think it is better leave medical decisions in the hands of t family and punish cases of child abuse as th arise. Allowing children to run away from hor and punishing their physical abuse would pr vent the chattel-slavery treatment that Peacott worried about. —EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHIL STANFORD

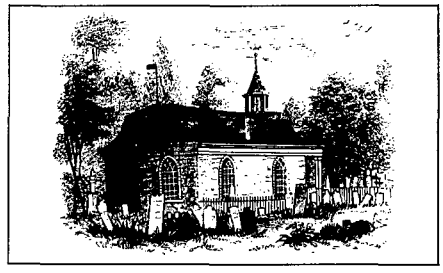
Spying back

AS THE "STIPULATED RECord" signed by both the defendants and prosecutors makes clear, the Scientologists did indeed spy on the U.S. government. Moreover, if the record is at all accurate, they did a very good job of it. In some cases they infiltrated the government by getting jobs with agencies such as the Drug Enforcement Administration and Coast Guard Intelligence. In others they actually broke into government offices. Operating usually in the dead of night, but sometimes on Saturday afternoons, agents of the Guardian Office of the Church of Scientology entered offices at the Justice Department and the Internal Revenue Service, picked locks, opened files and safes, and Xeroxed government files. From one office they copied a stack of documents ten feet high. Once they planted an electronic bug in an IRS conference room and listened to the proceedings in a car parked a block away.

The court record also indicates that the operation was directed by officials of the church's Guardian World Wide office in England. Occasionally the orders were in the form of official Guardian Orders, at other times handwritten memoranda. Several of these bore the name of Commodore Staff Guardian Mary Sue Hubbard, wife of Scientology's founder L. Ron Hubbard and the second-ranking person in the church hierarchy. Church spokesmen deny that the plot was directed from headquarters, but it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from the evidence from the nine defendants that was part of their bargain with the prosecution. Under the agreement, in exchange for signing the stipulated record, each of the defendants was found guilty on only one of the twenty-eight counts against them. There is, however, no disagreement about whether the spying occurred.

Of course, this is all quite shocking. People aren't supposed to spy on governments. It's the other way around. And the fact that the perpetrators of this unlikely offense belonged to a weirdo religious sect didn't exactly lower the level of general indignation.

To most of us, accustomed as we are to religions based on such patently sensible beliefs as transubstantiation, justification by faith, or a personal deity, Scientology has always seemed strange. Even if one forgot that Scientology was founded by an erstwhile adventurer and writer of screenplays and science fiction stories, the religion itself, with its mixture of reincarnation, E-meters, and sci-



ence fiction jargon, remained a bit, well, spooky. Stories in the press about the regimentation within the church or about the virulence with which the church attacks its critics even made it seem slightly menacing. The church's own documents only added to this impression. "We're not playing some minor game in Scientology," L. Ron Hubbard had written. "It isn't cute or something to do for lack of something better. The whole agonized future of this planet, every man, woman and child on it, and your own destiny for the next endless trillions of years depends on what you do here and now with and in Scientology. This is a deadly serious activity."

OF PARTICULAR INTEREST to a journalist were the accounts, like the one that appeared last year in the *Washington Post*, of the instant retribution, meted out in the form of expensive libel suits, against reporters or news organizations that criticized Scientology. Apparently, this too is done at the direction of the church's highest officials. As the founder himself wrote in a memorandum to his staff, in the event of a threat to Scientology, "you are to immediately evaluate and originate a black PR campaign to destroy the person's repute and to discredit them so thoroughly that they will be ostracized." Lawsuits, he pointed out, were a convenient tactic. "The law can be used very easily to harass, and enough harassment on somebody . . . will generally be sufficient to cause his professional decease. If possible, of course, ruin him utterly."

In this instance the enemy was the government. Spokesmen for the Church of Scientology, while denying that the church was in any way responsible for the defendants' actions, are quite open about this antagonism. Specifically, the IRS had for some time been trying to revoke the church's tax exemption, and the church felt it needed more inside information on the agency's plans. The break-ins at the Justice Department were an attempt to find out more about the various Freedom of Information requests the church had made, which it felt the Justice Department was not processing fairly or quickly enough. The FOIA suits themselves were an attempt to obtain documentation of what the church considers a conspiracy, involving a number of government agencies, to discredit and destroy the Church of Scientology. Whatever its members may have done in the way of infiltrating and burgling government offices, say the spokesmen, they did in response to a twenty-nine-year campaign of government harassment against the church.

According to evidence collected by the Church of Scientology and published under the title "The American Inquisition," the U.S. government has indeed been spying on the Scientologists. And if the documents that are photographically reproduced in the booklet are as authentic as they seem to be, the government has been doing a bang-up job of it.

As these documents indicate, government interest in Scientology dates back to the early fifties. In 1954, when Scientology was still organized as Humanics Societies, air force intelligence at Lowry Air Force Base in Colorado expressed an interest in discovering whether the members of a society in Colorado Springs were "homosexuals, Communists or both." In 1958, two Secret Service agents visited the Founding Church of Scientology in Washington, D.C., to object to an unfavorable article about then Vice President Richard Nixon that had appeared in a church magazine,

PHIL STANFORD is Washington correspondent for INQUIRY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and, according to an affidavit that appears in the church's book of documents, to demand that the magazine be recalled. A memorandum from 1959 suggests that the CIA was keeping tabs on the Scientologists. Various documents obtained through FOIA requests show that Army intelligence was also alert to a possible Scientology threat at this time.

From the Scientologists' point of view, however, their greatest danger at this period came from the Food and Drug Administration, which had developed an interest in proving that the church's E-meters—skin galvanometers used by the church in its counseling sessions—were in violation of federal regulations. As one document shows, in March 1959 an inspector from the FDA attended classes at the Washington, D.C., church under an assumed name, then filed a report on his visit. Another document shows that undercover FDA agents infiltrated the Detroit Church of Scientology. Another, that an undercover agent for the FDA visited the church in Miami, "for the purpose of location of Hubbard E-Meters for sampling and seizure consideration."

On January 4, 1963, however, the Church of Scientology's troubles with the FDA passed beyond the intelligence-gathering stage. Armed federal marshals, acting on the findings of the FDA that the Scientologists were engaged in medical quackery, raided church offices in Washington, D.C., and confiscated three tons of church property, including copies of Hubbard's book *Dianetics* and all of the church's E-meters. A February 1963 memo written by an FDA official indicates that it was the agency's belief that the raid had "effectively cut off their stock of E-Meters which they desperately need to attract new members of the cult." It was not until 1973, more than ten years later, that the church prevailed in its lawsuit to force the federal government to classify the E-meters as religious artifacts and to restore its property. The government returned the church's books and E-meters and charged $3600 for storage.

MORE RECENTLY, THE Internal Revenue Service has replaced the FDA as the Church of Scientology's primary foe within the government. The IRS, which has initiated a number of court cases in an effort to revoke the tax exemptions of various branches of the Church of Scientology, has had its own agents within the church. In 1969, according to an IRS memorandum, an IRS informant stole several documents from the Scientology office in Los Angeles and gave them to the IRS intelligence office. In 1974, an attorney for the city of Los Angeles proposed to his superiors that they initiate an intelligence operation against the Church of Scientology in that city. According to a deposition later taken from this attorney, the plans were abandoned when it was discovered that the IRS had already infiltrated the Los Angeles church. As the 1976 report of the Senate Intelligence Committee revealed, the intelligence division of the St. Louis IRS kept information on the Church of Scientology in its "subversives" file. In fact, according to the report, the church was the only subject covered in that file. None of this should be particularly surprising—for as we now know from material obtained in 1974 through a Freedom of Information suit by a Nader organization, the Church of Scientology, from 1969 through 1973, was one of ninety-nine organizations on the IRS's own "enemies list."

Nor should we be surprised any longer that, in response to government activities like these, the Scientologists undertook a spying operation of their own. According to the court records, the operation lasted from 1973 until the night of May 21, 1976, when FBI agents stopped two Scientologists for questioning inside the federal courthouse in Washington, D.C. The Scientologists were able to talk their way out of the building, but the FBI was soon on their trail. One of the Scientologists, Michael J. Meisner, who had been Assistant Guardian for the D.C. church with responsibility for the church's covert intelligence operations, fled to Los Angeles, where he was hidden by other church members.

After a short while, the Scientologists in Los Angeles devised a cover story that they hoped would avert an investigation of the church. Under their plan, Meisner would be required to turn himself in and plead guilty. When Meisner objected and in fact made threats against the others, he was placed under guard. Once when his guards moved him from one apartment to another, Meisner was handcuffed and forced to lie on the floor of the car in which he was transported. Gradually, the record states, Meisner regained the confidence of his captors, so that he was no longer guarded at night. On June 17, 1977, Meisner took some clothes from the apartment where he was staying, in Glendale, California, caught the bus to a bowling alley, and placed a collect call to the U.S. Attorney in Washington, D.C. Two hours later he was in the custody of the FBI.

On July 8, carrying warrants based on the information from Meisner, 134 FBI agents conducted simultaneous raids against offices of the Church of Scientology in Los Angeles and Washington. They forced their way into the offices with sledgehammers, crowbars, battering rams and chain saws, and although the search warrants listed only 148 specific documents and files, they seized a total of more than 48,000. In August of this year Judge William B. Bryant of the United States District Court in Washington ruled the FBI raids in Washington to be "in effect . . . a general seizure," and therefore in violation of the Fourth Amendment. Although the courts have so far upheld the constitutionality of the Los Angeles raids, Scientology officials are hoping for a favorable ruling there as well. The defendants in the Scientology spy case have based their appeal on the argument that the evidence used against them, much of which came from these FBI raids, was illegally obtained.

We do not, however, have to wait for the resolution of that case to conclude that the government does not take kindly to imitators. ❑

Moving?

Please allow us 6 weeks' notice

New address:

Name (please print)

Address

City State Zip

Mail to:

INQUIRY
Subscription Department
P.O. Box 2500
Menlo Park, CA 94025

Please send an address label from a recent issue along with your new address to help us speed up the change.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICS

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

Street action in Gotham

MAYOR ED KOCH, NEW York City's leading Carter Democrat, has recently reinforced his conservative image by employing the full force of government to crack down on two longstanding but raffish features of the urban street scene: prostitutes and peddlers.

In his crusade against prostitution, Koch has ingeniously appealed to the egalitarian sentiments of our day by piously cracking down on the John as well as the hooker. Publicly lamenting that contemporary mores prevented him from emulating the seventeenth-century Puritans by displaying Johns in public stocks, Mayor Koch decided to do the next best thing: to read their names over WNYC, the city-owned radio station. Faced with cries about this publicity breaking up homes and families, the mayor—pungently dubbed "the Mayatollah" by columnist William Safire—delivered a typical Kochian homily that the anguished wife would be sure to forgive the John his one escapade in sin.

Since the names of indicted Johns are read aloud, there has already been an understandable outcry that the accused often had not even been convicted when this act of public shaming occurred. Others took consolation in the fact that few people listen to public radio—though Koch is making up for this deficiency by inducing the daily press to print the names of the offenders. More serious is the question, Do two wrongs constitute a right? Is the wrong of arresting or jailing a prostitute for a nonviolent act somehow offset by cracking down on her customers as well? Are we interested in equal tyranny, or in equal liberty? And if one set of people is wronged in our society, what should we do about it, remove that injustice, or expand it in the name of equality? These are serious questions that cut to the heart of life in contemporary America, but they are not questions the Mayatollah shows any signs of even having considered, much less taken to heart.

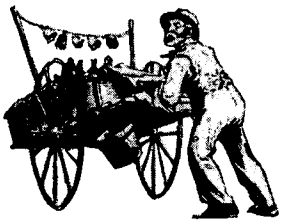
Meantime, there is at least one set of people, in addition to the bluenoses, who are happy with Mayor Koch's "John hour." This particular crackdown is only on prostitution in the streets, where it is easy for policewomen to entrap Johns into making a proposition—the only effective way they can be apprehended. It does not apply to the latter-day brothels known as massage parlors, where entrapment of Johns is impossible and of hookers extremely difficult—especially since New York City police officers are instructed never to remove their clothes. The brothel hookers are, predictably, delighted at Koch's John hour, which serves to cripple their street-walking competition; it also illustrates how various business groups can benefit by crackdowns on their competition—whether such crackdowns are inspired by Calvinism or by supposedly progressive politics.

KOCH'S OTHER CRUSADE is against the time-honored institution of street peddlers. The streets of New York are once again filled with peddlers selling all manner of consumer merchandise. With only a few boxes as capital equipment, they are able to undercut larger, more heavily capitalized stores. Koch has used several arguments in his blustering attack on the peddlers, who must already pay a stiff license fee to the city. One argument is aesthetic: that the beauty of the New York streets is marred by the activity of the peddlers. To anyone familiar with New York, this argument can only be called a species of black humor. New York streets are distinguished not for their beauty but for their liveliness and diversity—their "street action"—and peddlers add a welcome degree of bustle and life to the street scene.

Koch also advances two corollary arguments: that the peddlers and their customers clog the streets and add litter. Yet streets in New York City are always crowded, and many New Yorkers litter. If the mayor wants to enforce antilittering laws or to keep the streets unclogged, he can and should do so without singling out one particular group and cracking down on it. All New Yorkers, after all, are equally entitled to use the city's streets. Moreover, hizzoner is adopting an approach that—in violation of the Anglo-American legal tradition—punishes people in advance of any overt act on their part.

Koch's final argument is of course his real one: that the peddlers are "taking business away from 'legitimate' merchants." In short, they are being superbly competitive in our supposedly freely competitive society. And what is wrong with that?

The financial success of street peddlers has gained them outlawry and restriction throughout the country. Their competitive strength should alert people to the fact that small business is not necessarily at a disadvantage in competing with larger firms. A common argument holds that it is somehow "not fair" for larger stores, that have to pay rent and purchase a great deal of equipment, to face the competition of low-overhead and highly mobile peddlers, who can nip in to the busiest areas at the most profitable hours, e.g., on rainy days customers are delighted to see peddlers selling umbrellas at exits from the subway. But all this means is that sometimes small, noncapitalized businesses can outcompete larger firms. This should be considered a blessing in a society where many people feel that the small entrepreneur has no chance in a world of giants.



Not only that; becoming a peddler was the way in which immigrants, in earlier days, were able to leave the ranks of wage workers and become self-employed businessmen. The opportunity to become a peddler, first with a pack, then with boxes, then graduating to a pushcart, was the classic route by which many immigrant Jews rose from penury to affluence in the early twentieth century. Right now it is an important way in which many urban ghetto residents, blacks and Hispanics, are able to improve their lot. By acting to close off this opportunity, Mayor Koch is depriving blacks and Hispanics of a preciously important route out of poverty. That he is doing so in the name of aesthetics and of "legitimate business" is far more obscene than the activities that the Puritan mayor is trying to prohibit.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD, a contributing editor of INQUIRY, is the author of Power and Market: Government and the Economy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORPORATE STATE

BRUCE BARTLETT

Synfuel bandwagon

IT'S NOT EVERY DAY OF THE week that the U.S. Senate passes legislation opposed by the National Wildlife Federation, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Sierra Club, the National Federation of Independent Business, the Friends of the Earth, the American Mining Congress, the League of Women Voters, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. But that is exactly what happened on November 8, when the Senate voted to create a Synthetic Fuels Corporation—frequently called an Energy Security Corporation—which is expected to spend $88 billion over the next decade to build synthetic fuel plants.

The recent congressional and Presidential infatuation with synthetic fuels goes back to a day in late March, 1979, when Paul R. Ignatius, former secretary of the navy, former president of the Washington Post Company and now chairman of the Air Transport Association, had lunch with his friend Eugene Zuckert, a prominent Washington attorney, at the Maison Blanche, a French restaurant just down the street from the White House. The two began discussing their frustration with the nation's inability to deal with the energy problem and agreed that they "were tired of hearing people sort of stagger around with this thing."

Zuckert and Ignatius decided that people were just not thinking big enough: that what was needed was an energy program on the scale of the space program. The scheme they came up with was modeled after the government's drive to produce synthetic rubber during World War II. It would cost $100 billion to $200 billion and be capable of producing five million barrels of oil equivalent per day, about half the amount the U.S. imports daily.

Thinking they might need help with this lunchtime brainstorm, Ignatius and Zuckert called upon their mutual friend Lloyd Cutler, who, as it happens, had been thinking along the same lines. Cutler, one of the most powerful attorneys in Washington, is one of an elite descended from the New Deal braintrusters. (He has since replaced Robert Lipshutz as counsel to President Carter.) He has strong ties to big business, having been called upon frequently over the years to make deals with government for large corporations. But Cutler's influence is great precisely because he is a liberal Democrat and not a conservative Republican. As TRB pointed out in *The New Republic*, Cutler is one of a number of liberal lawyers who initially assist in creating a regulatory agency and then, for a fee, help their clients evade its regulations. So, with Ignatius and Zuckert's idea and Cutler's contacts and legislative skill, their program was launched.

Cutler, Ignatius, and Zuckert then drafted a memorandum outlining their idea and submitted it to the White House and to key congressional leaders on April 22. As the *Washington Star* reported, "It had the impact of someone throwing a handful of C-notes into what had been a decidedly penny-ante poker game." But when the three went public with their proposal—in a major article for the *Washington Post* on June 10—the stakes went even higher.

The Zuckert-Ignatius-Cutler proposal for a $200 billion crash synfuels program apparently was a catalyst. All sorts of diverse ideas on the energy problem somehow came together. The White House quickly picked up the scheme and linked it to the windfall profits tax. The Office of Management and Budget, which had been opposed to a crash synfuels program, reversed itself. And on June 26 the House of Representatives, which had not supported synfuels in previous years, by a voice vote discreetly increased the goal of the program from 500,000 barrels per day to 2 million barrels per day. It then approved the program as an attachment to the Defense Production Act reauthorization. The press began talking about a synfuels bandwagon.

On July 15 President Carter announced a new energy program that included the imposition of quotas on imports of foreign oil, establishment of an Energy Mobilization Board to cut through red tape impeding energy projects, and establishment of an Energy Security Corporation to produce 2.5 million barrels of oil-equivalent per day by 1990. Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd and Senate Energy Committee Chairman Henry Jackson pledged quick action.

UNTIL THIS YEAR, THE opposition to synfuel subsidies had centered in the House of Representatives, where an "unholy alliance" of fiscal conservatives and environmentalists consistently blocked earlier efforts.The Senate had always appeared more favorable to synfuel, approving programs rejected by the House. But with the collapse of opposition in the House (the synfuel bill passed on June 26 by a vote of 368 to 25) and the prospect of spending far more for synfuels than had ever before seemed possible, the Senate decided to take a closer look at what was going on. When the House-passed synfuel bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Energy Committee and, because of its financial implications, the Banking Committee. Members of the Energy Committee seemed ready to move ahead with the program, but opposition to a crash effort developed in the Banking Committee.

Zuckert and Ignatius decided we needed an energy program as big as the space program.

One question that emerged was whether CO_2 emissions from synfuel plants would significantly endanger the environment. The buildup of CO_2 in the atmosphere produces a "greenhouse effect," which warms the earth's surface. This warming trend could, within the next century, have a major impact on the world's climates, ocean currents, growing seasons, and sea levels. It was determined, however, that a program that produced 60 million barrels of synthetic fuel per day by the year 2050, would account for only three percent of the carbon dioxide produced around the world. In any case, by 2050 renewable energy will probably be meeting an in-

BRUCE BARTLETT is a member of the staff of the U.S. Senate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reasing portion of our energy needs, which will diminish the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

A more fundamental problem with ynfuels, however, is economic. On average, estimates show that it now costs bout half again as much to produce ynthetic fuels as to produce conventional fuels. Of course, an increase in the real rice of conventional fuel or some technological breakthrough could alter these stimates, but historically the cost estinates for synfuels have increased as fast s the real price of oil. Thus the congressional debate focused on the amount nd type of governmental subsidies that vould be needed in order to induce the rivate sector to build synthetic fuel lants. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* n July 2, professors Paul Joskow and Robert Pindyck of MIT summarized the conomic argument against a synfuel ubsidy program as follows:

"A program subsidizing commercial evelopment of new energy technologies an inefficient and wasteful way to olve our energy problem. . . . Under a ubsidy program for non-conventional uel, the government in effect would be sking taxpayers to finance the differnce between the high cost of producing uch supplies and the low price that conumers are asked to pay. But Americans vould in fact be much worse off with igher taxes than with higher energy rices. Individuals can choose to avoid aying higher energy prices by limiting heir consumption, but they have no hoice regarding the taxes they must ay."

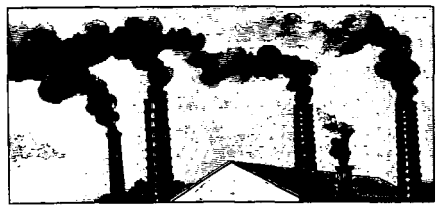
Moreover, cost estimates for synthetic uel plants—even at the current minimum of $3 billion to $4 billion per plant -may be quite optimistic. A commerial-sized synthetic fuel plant (in the 0,000 barrel per day range) has never een built in the United States. Synfuel upporters have assumed that existing ynfuel projects of demonstration size an be enlarged proportionately to commercial size without difficulty. Testinony by the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association before the Senate Bankng Committee, however, questioned his assumption. The association said hat the risk of financial loss is particularly hard to estimate in a new field that ises sophisticated technology. Indiidual firms' favorable estimates may vell neglect "scale-up risks, possible deays and design changes, potential cost verruns, and other uncertainties which re common with first-of-a-kind plants."

Cameron Engineers testified before he Senate Budget Committee that the problems associated with building commercial-sized synthetic fuel plants will be similar to those associated with military construction projects. Some of the machinery will not have been designed to scale, and as project engineers learn more about the process and add details to the design, more "reliability," which entails spare equipment, will have to be incorporated. Making changes in the design, plant layout, or operating procedures while a plant is under construction is extremely costly; many military projects develop large cost overruns for precisely this reason. A contractor "is not in a position to make cost/benefit tradeoffs for requested design changes and has no incentive to improve system efficiency."

*IN JULY, A RAND CORPORA*tion report intensified the controversy about building costs. Entitled *A Review of Cost Estimation in New Technologies: Implications for Energy Process Plants*, the report reviewed the construction histories of synfuel-type energy plants and showed that the average actual cost of such plants was at least 2.5 times more than the estimated cost. We can almost certainly expect similar cost overruns on at least the first plants built under a crash program.

A recent Harvard Business School report (*Energy Future*, edited by Robert Stobaugh and Daniel Yergin) questions whether we need any synfuels program at all. Stobaugh and Yergin found that the United States could use 30 to 40 percent less energy than it does today, "with virtually no penalty to the way Americans live—save that billions of dollars will be spared, the air less polluted, the dollar under less pressure; save that the growing and alarming dependence on OPEC oil will be reduced, and Western society will be less likely to suffer internal and international tension."

Although conservation has long been known to be the most easily and quickly implemented means for reducing U.S.



dependence on unreliable overseas oil, the problem has always been that its strongest supporters have consistently refused to use the price system to achieve the needed energy savings. Instead they have insisted upon mandatory measures to achieve conservation, such as requiring that auto companies manufacture more fuel-efficient cars or that businesses set thermostats at some arbitrary level.

Would higher prices reduce energy demand significantly? Many argue that the demand for energy is essentially inelastic, and predict that people would use the same amount of energy even if there were a substantial price increase. This argument is false and can be so proved by comparing energy demand in the United States, where energy prices have been kept artificially low through price controls, and in Europe, where high taxes have been imposed on top of high energy prices. Robert Pindyck, in his book *The Structure of World Energy Demand*, cites studies comparing gasoline demand among OECD nations that estimate that a 100 percent increase in gasoline prices would reduce demand greatly. Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee, Pindyck stated that the significance of major price increases in reducing energy demand becomes particularly apparent after the higher prices have been in effect for several years, and that "a massive government subsidy program removes this price incentive, and will thereby contribute to the growth of energy consumption."

Despite these and other objections to the crash synfuels program—such as the lack of water for synfuel plants in arid western states and the problem of moving massive amounts of coal around the country on an inadequate transportation system—the bandwagon rolls on. On November 7 there was a key vote in the Senate on whether to substitute a more modest $3 billion proposal (backed by the Banking Committee) for the Energy Committee's $20 billion first-phase funding of the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. Although Senator Proxmire and others argued that a crash program makes no sense since it cannot have any effect before the 1990s anyway, and although fiscal conservatives and environmentalists objected strongly, the Banking Committee substitute was easily defeated, 57 to 37. Fifteen Republicans, many of whom had opposed earlier synfuel bills, voted for the Energy Committee's grandiose version.

In the end, the pressure to appear to be doing something—anything—about the energy crisis, along with the renewed threat of an Iranian oil cutoff (since effected—ironically enough—by President Carter), proved overwhelming. We will all be paying the price for a long time to come. ❑

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Quiet Subsidy

By NICHOLAS BURNETT

*THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION PRO-*poses federal loan guarantees of $1.5 billion for the Chrysler Corporation, which is set to lose over a billion dollars in 1979. The National Association of Manufacturers objects to the interference in the workings of the free market that the guarantees would represent. The NAM argues that public subsidies should not be granted to a firm that deserves to die.

But NAM spokesmen are careful to add that the association does not object to assistance to Chrysler "under legislation of general applicability." The commitment to the free market turns out to mean not an objection to subsidies per se; only a demand that all corporations should have equal access to government assistance. And in fact, Chrysler has long received huge subsidies from one of Washington's more obscure agencies, the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

Eximbank, as it is generally known, supports U.S. exports in a variety of ways, largely by making direct loans to enable foreigners to purchase U.S. products and by guaranteeing and insuring loans for this purpose extended by private American banks. As of March 31, 1979, Chrysler had been the beneficiary of $0.5 billion of Exim's credit. The total fo General Motors, whose chairman Thomas Murphy vocifer ously opposed loan guarantees for Chrysler, was $0.9 billion

Eximbank does not use taxpayers' money directly. It prides itself on not taking appropriations from Congress; its lates annual report notes prominently that it has paid more thar one billion dollars to the United States Treasury since the bank was established by Executive Order in 1934. Wha Eximbank does is to borrow from the Treasury and then t repay to the Treasury the principal together with an annua "dividend." This subsidy to the private sector is discussed in a 1976 Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study as follows:

"A subsidy arises because Eximbank can borrow, mostly from the government at government bond rates, and lend at a rate lower than the going rate in the export finance market... The size of the subsidy is not under the control of the Exim bank. The subsidy decreases when the market rate falls, o Eximbank starts disbursing loans which were authorized at a higher interest rate, or when Eximbank disbursements de cline. For fiscal year 1975 over 50 percent of the subsidy wen to support the sales of aircraft and other transportation equip ment, nuclear power plants and equipment, and other specia industrial machines."

Exim lends money to foreign purchasers of U.S. goods a

NICHOLAS BURNETT, a Washington writer, has contributed to Harper's, Washington Monthly, *and other publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Billions in aid to business has gone unnoticed in the past, but a proposed raid on the Treasury may now focus public attention on the secretive Eximbank.

rates below those they could obtain on the private market. So one might expect foreigners to be the subsidy's beneficiaries: They are, but they are not the only ones. Research by Professor Janos Horvath of Butler University in Indianapolis demonstrates that "Eximbank does not favor foreigners at the expense of Americans, but, rather, its subsidies end up within this country." And, "the grant equivalent [i.e., subsidy] accrues to the exporter, or in a broad sense to the export sector of the national economy." About two hundred large firms account for over 85 percent of all U.S. exports. So the subsidy ends up with big business.

Despite the massive credits in favor of GM and Chrysler, these vehicle manufacturing giants rank but sixth and eighth among the corporations benefiting from Eximbank finance. The list of those each having more than half a billion dollars of credit authorizations this March confirms the pattern the CBO identified in 1976: Boeing ($3.0 billion), Westinghouse ($2.6 billion), General Electric ($2.0 billion), McDonnell Douglas ($1.8 billion), Caterpillar ($1.1 billion), General Motors ($0.9 billion), Allis-Chalmers ($0.6 billion), Chrysler ($0.5 billion).

Since these data were compiled, Westinghouse has shot to the top of the list. In August Eximbank approved the largest credit it has ever authorized, $1.2 billion, to support Westinghouse's sale of two nuclear power plants to South Korea. Nuclear power exports now use more of Exim's funds than anything else. "Twenty-five to thirty percent of our annual budget for direct credits is accounted for by nuclear exports," says Jim Cruse, Exim's acting vice-president for policy analysis. Exim has financed forty-seven of the fifty-nine nuclear plants that have been exported from the United States to date.

Not only have Westinghouse and General Electric, the two U.S. nuclear exporters, benefited from the financial subsidy implicit in these loans; their continuation in the nuclear field has come to be tied to Exim finance. A recent Swedish-British report on "The Viability of the Civil Nuclear Industry" concluded that GE might have to drop out of the nuclear business within five years and Westinghouse within ten. Only exports have kept these firms going. Domestic orders have plummeted, according to the Atomic Industrial Forum, from a peak of 41 in 1973 to 4 in 1975, 3 in 1976, 4 in 1977, 2 in 1978, and probably none in 1979 in the wake of the accident at Three Mile Island. Cancellations are increasing (9 in 1977, 12 in 1978) and delays placed on previous orders (45 in 1977, 40 in 1978), which are omens of possible cancellations, have been four times as high as new orders. All this in an industry with the capacity to manufacture 27 to 30 units a year. Westinghouse and General Electric, which account for more than 70 percent of the U.S. domestic market, have tried to use overseas sales to keep their order books filled. In the United States today there are 72 power reactors in operation and 126 under construction or on order. There are 31 U.S. reactors operating overseas and 41 being built or on order, all from either General Electric or Westinghouse and almost all—the exceptions are those bought by Switzerland—supported by Eximbank.

The bank justifies its support for nuclear and other exports in terms of the need to meet foreign competition, arguing, for example, that if the U.S. did not sell those power plants to Korea, then Germany or France or Sweden would. The governments of these countries provide export finance to help their manufacturers obtain orders, and the U.S. government must do the same if American firms are to compete successfully in the world marketplace. This argument received a further boost this year when President Carter committed the government to all-out support of exports in order to combat the growing trade deficit. The chairman of Eximbank, John Moore, has become a veritable missionary in his devotion to this goal, traveling the world to promote U.S. products and Eximbank's financing of them.

The scramble for world trade set off by the industrial countries' desire to restore their external payments balances after the shocks administered by OPEC in 1973–74 has led to a revival of mercantilism, one symptom of which is keen competition among national export credit agencies. Meeting this competition has caused Exim to lower its interest rates wherever possible. Its average rate in 1978 was 8.25 percent, down from 8.53 in 1977, and well below the prime rate.

The argument that the United States should subsidize exports because other countries do so is not without superficial appeal. Yet it does not stand up under deeper examination. If the problem is the trade deficit, then the solution lies in the value of the dollar. Let it float downward until payments equilibrium is achieved.

Furthermore, it is by no means obvious that there is a correlation between a country's export performance and the proportion of its exports that government credits assist. Japan, an outstandingly successful exporter, supports some 39 percent of all its exports with government credit; the comparable figure for Germany, another successful exporter,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is only 11 percent. U.S. Treasury econometricians have attempted to calculate the "additionality" of Eximbank programs. For the fiscal year 1976 they claim that "about two-thirds of the total U.S. exports which the bank financed directly represent additional sales which might not have been made if Exim finance had not been available."

The analytical problem with such a claim is that it is not possible to compare what happened with Eximbank financing to what happened without. Assumptions must be made about what would have happened without bank support of exports. In addition, the study extrapolates from only one year's figures. It is notable, moreover, that the Treasury study maintained that only Eximbank's direct loan program was particularly effective; the econometricians estimated that only "about 30 percent of the guarantee program produced additional sales, as did about 27 percent of the insurance program."

At least one-fourth of Eximbank's annual budget for direct credits goes to nuclear exports.

The Treasury study says that one-third of the exports Eximbank supported would have been sent abroad in any case. Jet aircraft must surely be one of these inevitable export items. Eximbank financing here is, in Senator William Proxmire's words, "utterly ridiculous, because there is no competitive reason for it." A press release announcing a credit of $151 million in October 1978 to permit British Airways to purchase nineteen Boeing 737s proudly observed that the loan "continues a long history of Eximbank's financing support for exports of U.S. aircraft. The bank has assisted U.S. manufacturers in obtaining approximately 80 percent of the world market." This gets things the wrong way round. There is some foreign competition, notably from the European Airbus, which challenges the American jumbo jets, but many U.S. planes have no overseas challengers at all. Yet, after the nuclear industry, aircraft manufacturers have benefited most from Eximbank finance. About 60 percent of all U.S. jetliner exports receive Eximbank support, according to the Aerospace Industries Association. It is difficult to understand the justification for this, particularly for such credits as one in 1977 permitting the Japanese domestic airline All Nippon to purchase three Boeing 737s or one earlier this year for a similar purchase by the Canadian company Nordair. There is no non-American challenger for the 737.

*POWER PLANTS, AIRCRAFT, TRANS*portation equipment. They're all manufactured by major corporations, and it's major corporations that benefit from Eximbank's programs. The bank has been pressed to do something for small business and, together with the Small Business Administration and the Department of Commerce, Exim introduced a nationwide series of conferences on exporting for small and minority enterprises. "No segment of the economy is being given more attention and encouragement by the Export-Import Bank than the small business concerns of this country," chairman Moore told a congressional committee in April. The bank considers the conference program a success.

"At the end of the fiscal year," states its report for 1978,

THE EXIMBANK BOARD OF FIVE PRESIDENTIAL appointees meets every Tuesday and Thursday. It is subject to provisions of the "Government in the Sunshine Act," which has required, since 1976, that the board meetings of almost fifty agencies must be open to the public. Since the Sunshine Act became law the board has not held an open meeting.

It closes them all to avoid, allegedly, having to "disclose trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential." This is one of ten exemptions that the Sunshine Act allows.

Without knowing what actually goes on during board deliberations, it is hard to assess Exim's claim that all its meetings are concerned with this type of commercially privileged information. It does seem, however, that the claim must be at least somewhat exaggerated. One area of board discussion clearly does not involve trade secrets: the sections of meetings at which Eximbank's interest rate is set. Why are they not open? Questioned about this, members of Exim's legal staff admit that perhaps they ought to be, but point out that it would be a considerable bother to arrange special meetings on one topic. With two meetings every week, that claim too seems a bit of an exaggeration.

Exim's attitude toward open meetings is typical of a number of government financial agencies. When the Sunshine Act was debated on Capitol Hill, many thought that the greatest obstacles to conducting agency business in the open would arise from the need to protect national security and individual privacy. The act provides exemptions in these cases, and also to protect continuing law enforcement investigations and the like. Yet a 1978 Common Cause study of the first year of agency compliance with the Sunshine Act revealed that national security or privacy was invoked on only 11 percent of the occasions when meetings were closed.

By contrast, 39 percent of closings were based on financial exemptions. There are three of these: the "trade secrets" clause used by Exim, and two others that allow closed meetings to avoid divulging information about pending investigations of banking irregularities or information that might lead to a financial panic or aid speculation in currencies, securities, or commodities. The widespread use of these financial exemptions led Common Cause to wonder if they were not too broadly written.

Seven agencies, dubbed the "Secret Seven," were identified by Common Cause as particular offenders. Four relied on the financial exemptions: the Federal Reserve, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and Eximbank.

Agencies like Exim that close board meetings are required to maintain either minutes, transcripts, or tape recordings of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"there were more than 3,000 U.S. exporters actively using Exim's programs, of which more than 1,100, or 37.7 percent, could be considered small business." However it is impossible to find anyone in the bank who will say how many of these businesses are using Exim programs because of the conferences. And it is deceptive to bandy around figures like 37.7 percent when nothing like that proportion of the bank's total export finance—in dollars, as opposed to number of firms helped—goes to small business.

APPARENTLY BIG BUSINESS ISN'T satisfied with the present level of Eximbank subsidies. The Carter administration has asked Congress to authorize the bank to lend $4.1 billion in direct credits in the current (1980) fiscal year, up dramatically from $2.9 billion in fiscal 1977. Business groups, however, under the aegis of the "Export Policy Task Force" of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, want even more. An internal document of this group, which includes executives of General Electric and Caterpillar as well as bankers and other industrialists, describes its intention to lobby for an immediate increase in Eximbank's financing from $4.1 billion to "between $6 and $9 billion."

That's not all: Also proposed are two special funds, each an additional one billion dollars, one to support exports to "higher risk developing countries" and the other to meet foreign "mixed credit" competition. (Mixed credit is a blend of aid and export credit funds.) Both funds would support increased U.S. exports to the developing countries.

It's not as if Eximbank hasn't been lending to the Third World. "About two-thirds of Exim's activity between 1970 and 1978 was in the developing countries, though two-thirds of U.S. exports went to the industrialized nations," observed chairman Moore in a recent speech. The bulk of these loans were to the so-called upper-tier developing nations, especially Brazil, Korea, and Mexico. Indeed the flow of Eximbank loans to the Third World, now around $2.7 billion a year, exceeds the total disbursements of the Agency for International Development by almost half a billion dollars—when the very special cases of Egypt and Israel are excluded.

In addition to subsidizing big business, the bank has become a useful tool of the American state in its operations around the world, pouring money into those autocracies that the U.S. government supports: Korea, Brazil, the Philippines, Nicaragua (before the fall of Somoza), and Iran (before the shah's departure)—all repressive nations with appalling human rights records. Professor Horvath has shown that these nations do not benefit from the subsidy element in Exim loans. But they do benefit from the flow of foreign exchange that would not be available to them from private banks. A flow of resources is a flow of resources.

Big business seems not to be satisfied with the large subsidy it already gets from Exim.

There is nothing new in this. In *Economic Diplomacy*, his study of the bank and foreign policy in the thirties, Frederick C. Adams draws attention to the bank's dual role: "The Export-Import Bank offered government support to foreign traders and gave the administration a means of achieving certain foreign policy objectives." Elsewhere he observes: "In their proceedings. These are to be made promptly available to the public on request, though sections may be withheld if they contain information that remains confidential. It is barely possible to get an impression of the Eximbank board's meetings from the minutes, which are brief and include little narrative. They simply record the parties and products involved in an export credit application, the date, the amount, and whether the loan or guarantee request was granted or denied. If a board member dissents, that is noted, although the reason for his dissent is rarely mentioned. When interest rates are discussed, the entries are totally cryptic. Thus I learned that on November 21, 1978, "the Board determined to retain the existing interest rate schedule." That was that.

I then requested transcripts of the sections of two meetings: a discussion of the bank's operations in Iran, and a denial, for environmental reasons, of an application to assist in the export of electrostatic precipitators to Mexico. According to the bank, no one had ever asked for a transcript before.

For more than a week after submitting a formal written request I heard nothing. When I called, a staff lawyer in the general counsel's office tried to deter me, always being careful—he was a lawyer, after all—to state that Exim would supply the transcripts if I really wanted them ("I assure you we're not trying to pull the wool over your eyes"). I was told at least three times that the bank had won two lawsuits in the area of commercially privileged information. I was told twice that they'd listened to the tapes and doubted that I'd learn anything of use from them. I was also informed that despite the expenditure of "thousands of dollars" on a sound recording system, the tapes were not in particularly good shape, individual speakers were hard to identify, and so on. It would cost me, I was told, at least $150 to obtain edited transcripts of the two 45-minute sections that interested me.

Because getting transcripts seemed expensive, I next tried to obtain a tape of the meetings (the Federal Reserve, for example, supplies cassettes for five dollars each). A tape was as difficult to obtain as a transcript; the bank now claimed it was impossible to edit out the "secret" parts of the meetings.

Ted Jacobs, a lawyer for the Center for Development Policy, also tried to get access to tapes or transcripts of board meetings on the bank's financing of nuclear power plant exports. Though he made his application after mine, he too was told that his was the first request the bank had received under the Sunshine Act. (How many "first requests" has Eximbank received?) Exim finally permitted him to listen to tapes of nineteen of the twenty-five meetings in which he was interested; six were completely withheld. Of those he could hear, seven were edited and the remaining twelve were all very brief. Jacobs is now suing to obtain transcripts of the withheld and edited portions of the tapes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

addition to aiding the expansion of exports, the bank provided State Department officials with a means of influencing the matrix within which commercial and financial transactions took place. By supplying foreign exchange assistance, by aiding development programs, and by supporting governments whose objectives were consistent with those of America, Washington could attempt to counter the forces which jeopardized the post–World War I world." Substitute World War II and you have an apt description of the present. Ironically, the bank was first established in 1934 to facilitate trade with the Soviet Union, political accord with that country then being a major foreign policy objective. Today the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment preclude Eximbank from extending credits to Russia. China is also excluded, though it is expected that the explosion in Sino-American trade will soon lead the administration to propose legislation permitting Exim credits for the People's Republic.

Exim's aggressive lending elsewhere in the world may lead it into financial difficulties. At present the bank earns more than it has to pay out because some three billion dollars of its outstanding loans is financed from funds on which it need pay no interest: about two-thirds in accumulated earnings and one-third in original capitalization. This situation may not continue. Chairman Moore's pushing of U.S. exports has involved a considerable shaving of Eximbank's interest rates and a decline in the bank's "dividend" payments to the Treasury relative to the size of its business. In 1978 this dividend was only $35 million, the same as in 1977, despite a 26 percent increase in the volume of export sales supported.

Since 1975 the comptroller general's annual examinations of Exim's financial statements have been qualified, at first because the reserve available to meet potential losses could not be precisely determined but had clearly failed to keep pace with the rapid expansion of programs in the 1970s, and in more recent years, because of an increase in the amount at risk on delinquent and rescheduled loans to financially precarious Third World nations. In commenting on last year's statements the comptroller general observed: "Although the reserve increased in fiscal year 1978, the risk of incurring possible future losses increased to a larger extent. . . . We are unable to express an opinion on the adequacy of the reserve . . ."

The bank pours money into American-supported autocracies: Brazil, the Philippines, Korea...

Nobody thinks Eximbank is about to go bust. That would take a worldwide financial collapse. Rather there is a possibility—denied by Exim officials—that the bank could find itself suffering losses large enough to require coverage by federal budget appropriations. Despite Exim's never having received an appropriation, there is nothing in the 1945 and 1978 laws incorporating the bank that obliges it to be financially self-sufficient, though it is expected to obtain reasonable assurances of repayment.

The key determinant of Eximbank's financial health is the interest rate it charges to foreign borrowers. The lower the interest charged, of course, the less income Exim can put into its reserve to cover defaults and other contingencies. Should that reserve prove inadequate, the federal purse—ultimately the taxpayer—will have to bail out the bank. The interest rate it establishes is therefore a matter of public policy.

Yet the public cannot attend the board meetings at which Eximbank sets its interest rates, both in general and for specific loans. While the bank is required by the Sunshine Act to hold all its board meetings in public, it has not yet held an open meeting. It is extraordinarily difficult for the public to find out what is going on inside: Board minutes are extremely brief and the staff is hostile to public scrutiny.

JAMES HOGUE PUBLISHES A NEWSLETTER called *Eximbank Report* that covers what is going on inside the bank and reprints much of the board's minutes. The *Report* is bought mainly by companies without Washington offices that want to keep abreast of developments at the bank. But since Hogue has begun reprinting the minutes, he has noticed that less information than ever goes into them. Hogue says he is frequently frustrated in his attempts to obtain information, but he has noticed that it is very easy for an executive of a large corporation with close ties to the bank to pick up the phone and find out whatever he wants. Moreover, the bank's general counsel has, according to Hogue, been orchestrating a campaign of complaints by major corporations opposing all reprinting of the minutes. Not only does the bank not want its meetings subject to public scrutiny; it appears to prefer a cozy relationship with big corporations to one in which information is available to firms of all sizes.

Thus far, the bank's refusal of appropriations and its relative obscurity have protected it from criticism. But Chamber of Commerce proposals for two new Eximbank funds for assisting exports to the Third World will, if adopted, require the direct financial support of the taxpayer.

The business group's document does not explain how a mixed credit fund is to be financed, but as its interest rate will be lower than that for straightforward export credits, it will surely run at a loss. The proposal on credits for higher-risk developing countries is more explicit: "Because of the requirement of reasonable assurances of repayment in its charter, Eximbank has in the past been reluctant to extend foreign credits for transactions with higher risk developing countries." If legislators can be persuaded to enact such a fund, the group suggests that the congressional mandate "include language to the effect that losses are expected."

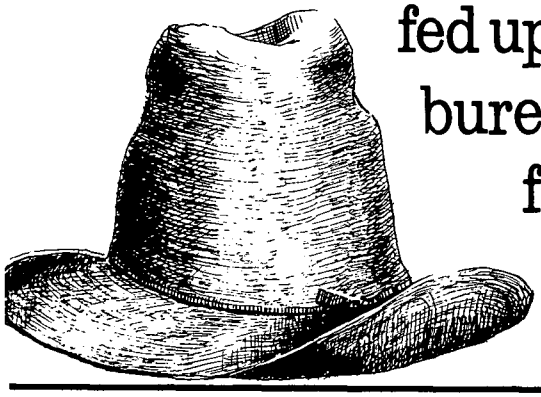
This is worth closer examination. There are certain developing countries where the political instability or level of external debt is such that neither private banks nor even Eximbank is prepared to lend much. Yet our captains of industry want Exim to make loans to such countries, fully expecting that the bank will suffer losses. By then the corporations, however, will have made their sales and gotten their profits, thank you very much. And these extraordinary financial demands on federal agencies like the Export-Import Bank are made in the same breath with outright opposition to subsidies to Chrysler and vocal support for the free market. If the corporations were at all sincere, they would call for the abolition of the Export-Import Bank. ❑

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEST TAKES ON WASHINGTON

By JOSEPH SELDNER

Westerners are increasingly fed up with the federal bureaucracy and are finally doing something about it.



FOR THE SECOND time in our country's history, the West is being won.

Instead of fighting the red man and the elements, this time around the westerners are fighting their national government and its policies, which they see as restrictive, oppressive, and unfair.

Anti-Washington sentiment in the nation is strong enough for Jimmy Carter to have told the public recently that the capital has become an "island," out of touch with what is going on in the rest of America. But the western states have special problems in dealing with Washington. First, they are geographically distant from where national policy is made. Next, because they are younger, they enjoy less of a tradition of kinship with the capital. Historically, the West has felt like the scrawny kid on the block, always losing the big contests. When it came to fighting for money or respectability from the government, the West was the perennial runner-up to the eastern industrial states whose population base and lobbying power were simply too much to fight.

Except for California, no state west of the 100th meridian, which divides the country in half, has more than ten electoral votes. Even a relatively "small" eastern state such as Virginia has twelve electoral votes. Hence there is less individual and collective political muscle, in conventional terms, in the West than in the East, and when compromises and policies are hammered out, it is those less populous states that are often first to be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

Most important, and the most striking image symbolically for many westerners, is the federal government's role as absentee landlord. The federal government owns around 90 percent of the land in Alaska and Nevada, and even in

JOSEPH SELDNER is a reporter for the Denver Post.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Colorado, one of three states in the West with the lowest proportion of federal proprietorship, one acre in three belongs to Washington.

Once again, the contrast with the East is marked: New Hamsphire, with 12 percent, has by far the highest proportion of federal land in any eastern state. Of the 750 million acres of land owned by the federal government, 90 percent is in the West.

"We're the last colonial empire in the whole world," Cal Black, commissioner of San Juan County, Utah, said of the West. He called the land question, "an issue of human rights in the West . . . an issue of self-determination and self-government."

In Nevada, where the feds hold 87 percent of the land, Republican Governor Robert List put the problem in more subdued terms: "The basic problem is not a desire to wrestle ownership from the federal government, but rather it is one of over-control and over-regulation to the detriment not only of the people of the state of Nevada, but the public in general."

Nevada this year became the first state to enact legislation reclaiming federally owned land for the state. Termed by one Department of Interior official as more a "loyalty oath" for Nevada legislators than anything else, the statute faces an uphill test in court.

Indeed, although the news media are abuzz these days with talk of the "Sagebrush Rebellion"—the effort by western states to reclaim vast federal acreage for their own use—the real issue is the hammerlock the federal government has on the states generally.

With Washington eyeing western energy resources lasciviously, with scarce western water sought after by more and more competing interests, and with the balance of the nation's population shifting ever westward, the West wants to be sure it is a partner in shaping its own and America's future.

Western governors and legislators are less subservient nowadays when dealing with Washington than they were fifty, twenty, or even ten years ago, when East was East and West was just sort of out there. Last July, for example, a Presidential aide went to Denver to meet with governors of several Rocky Mountain states to discuss synthetic fuels. Each governor demanded equal status with the feds in deciding how and when those fuels should be developed in his state.

The states are taking their cases to the courts and they are drafting laws designed to provoke confrontation and resolution of the lands issue. Not only Nevada, but also Alaska, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah have filed claims or passed bills taking back sizable portions of federal land. The claims of Utah and Colorado could generate many millions of dollars for the states if President Carter's synfuels program gets underway.

Although the feds agree the states are entitled to acreage, there will probably be a legal battle over whether they can get the specific prime acreage they seek.

THE SITUATION IS more dramatic in Alaska than it is elsewhere. The federal government owns 96 percent of the land, and Jimmy Carter infuriated many of the locals last year by invoking the Antiquities Act of 1906, which turned 56 million acres of land into virtually untouchable wilderness.

Richard Randolph, an Alaska state representative elected on the Libertarian party ticket, said, "If people can't use the land the way they want to, some very serious situations are going to develop. . . .There will be serious and numerous confrontations. People out there are very unhappy, lots of them."

Some lawmakers are more genteel than Randolph. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), for one, is waging his war in the halls of Congress, where his Western Lands Distribution and Regional Equalization Act of 1979, cosponsored by eleven senate colleagues, is in committee. The bill would create a Federal Land Transfer Board, charged with deciding what lands to convert from federal to state ownership. National parks, monuments and wilderness areas, Indian reservations, and military installations would be exempted from transfer under Hatch's bill. The rest—nearly 500 million acres—would be eligible to become state-owned.

Carter unleashed torrents of bad feelings by opposing the water-reclamation projects.

Historically, tensions between the West and the East have always existed. Western states resent that, as a condition of statehood back in the late 1800s and early 1900s, they had to agree to federal ownership of huge tracts of land, a condition that had not been imposed on the eastern states. This century-old concept of federal proprietorship was reasserted in 1976 with the passage of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act, also known as the Organic Act.

Since the Carter administration came to power, tensions have only become greater.

Of the thirteen western states—Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming—Carter won only Hawaii in the 1976 election.

Soon after taking office, Carter committed an unforgivable political mistake his most reckless blunder in dealing with this part of the country: He opposed construction of some thirty western water-reclamation projects, calling them "wasteful." Regardless of the merits of his action, Carter, already poorly regarded in the West, unleashed torrents of bad feeling with that decision.

Because some water-projects money became available, and perhaps because Carter's declining stock nationwide makes his unpopularity in the West less conspicuous, animosity toward the President is no longer the core of the West's anti-Washington feeling. But the opposition to federal interference is as strong as ever.

Sporadic insurrections crop up, like the movement earlier this year to revoke the 55 mph speed limit which many westerners thought irrelevant and unrealistic for the West's sparse traffic and long distances between cities. Threatened cutoffs of federal highway funds the oil crunch, and public disapproval of the movement blunted the edge of that show of defiance, although a few states have proposed laws eliminating driving demerits or insurance hikes tied to violations of the 55 mph limit.

Keith Ashworth, a Democratic state senator from Las Vegas and a prime mover of the speed-limit revolt, said the flurry of speed-limit opposition reflected a broader antipathy toward the federal government: "They figure if it's good enough for New York or Boston or one of those places east of the Mississippi, it's good enough for everyone else. . . . It stems mostly from a complete lack of understanding and knowledge of the problems of the West."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Decrying the influence of eastern interests in formulating western policy, he so denounced a program aimed at reservation of large numbers of wild horses in Nevada and elsewhere. Because of a romantic eastern desire to keep the horses, there is less land for grazing sheep and cattle in some areas. Some of those people from Washington ought to see what a wild horse will do to range and a watering hole," Ashworth said.

Painful as it may be for some rough-and-tumble westerners to admit it, those people from Washington pump billions of dollars into the states each year. Without these funds the states would have to worry about keeping programs afloat they either like or at least don't find time to complain about. In fiscal 1977, Arizona got $4.5 billion from the feds; Oregon, $3.1 billion; Montana, $1.7 billion; and even cantankerous Nevada got a hefty $1.2 billion from its archnemesis Washington.

While it is true that some western leaders—in fact, local leaders nationwide—would take less money from the federal government if there were fewer strings attached to what they got, it is also true that nothing approaching a "Sagebrush Rebellion" has taken place when it comes to unshackling the West from the tyranny of greenbacks from the Potomac.

There has been a modest effort by the states to agree to cuts in federal spending and programs if coupled with fewer regulations, less duplication, and more direct control over how they spend the money they get. Governors and mayors have long wrung their hands in dismay over the federal tendency to bypass state and local jurisdictions and administer federal programs directly. Smaller units of government everywhere resent the Big Brotherism emanating from Washington. The West certainly has no monopoly on ill will toward the feds.

In 1977, the National Governors Conference prepared a two-part, seven-page report entitled "Federal Roadblocks to Efficient State Government." The study criticized Washington for creating excessive burdens on the states in everything from paperwork, to federal regulations that "are prescriptive in methodology rather than oriented toward results," to delays in funding programs, which "cause serious dislocation and inequities at the state level."

Smaller governmental units (states, counties, cities, school districts) are not without their problems, but it is simply a fact of life that the closer the bureaucracy is physically to its constituents, the less distasteful it is. A revealing 1978 Gallup Poll showed that people believed 48 cents of their federal tax dollar was wasted, compared with 32 cents of their state tax dollar and only 25 cents of their municipal tax dollar.

David Broder, political columnist

"People from Washington should see what a wild horse will do to a cattle range."

syndicated by the *Washington Post*, has noted, "For 40 years or more, the prevailing doctrine in Washington has been that national priorities should be set by the elected and appointed officialdom in Washington. True to that belief, there has been a steady increase in federally mandated programs and an ever larger flow of federal funds to the states and cities given the day-to-day responsibility of fulfilling those mandates." As the water policy fight made clear, those mandates are sometimes cooked up merely to serve federal bureaucratic needs.

Preston Cook, deputy director of the Council of State Governments western office in San Francisco, says: "We feel we've been left out of Washington, left out of the decision-making process. . . . People in the West are decision-makers in their own right."

Senator Hatch, who along with Governor Scott Matheson has edged his state into a leadership role in the West, points out that state-owned land in Utah is managed much better than the 66 percent of the state owned by the feds. The U.S. Bureau of Land Management, Hatch says, controls eight times more land in Utah than the state agency for land management, employs twenty-three times as many people and operates on twenty-four times the budget, yet earns only one-fourth the income per acre of the state agency. His explanation for this is that "the people who live within the state have much deeper feelings and concerns about the state than the federal bureaucrats."

Many federal officials seem to understand the anger of the West, but not many see reclamation by the states as the solution. One critic is Dale Andrus, director of the Colorado office of the BLM, who claims that the notion that states by definition can manage land better than the feds is "a total fallacy." The management responsibilities would be the same, he asserts, regardless of who controlled the land (the BLM has a "multi-use" policy, designed to permit grazing, mining, recreation, etc.). Furthermore, the states receive healthy payments in lieu of taxes for federally owned land.

"Those of us in the West are not interested in polluting the land or water or anything like that," says Arizona Democratic Senator Dennis DiConcini. "We just have the feeling that we don't have a hand in developing federal policy when it is planned in our states."

Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado, a Democrat, is a moderate on the Sagebrush Rebellion issue but a hard-liner on the need to cut government regulation and increase flexibility in administration of programs. "Even if people agree with the programs, they resent the federal government telling them what to do," Lamm said.

Whatever the success of the West's land battles, there is more at stake here than just land.

WHERE INdividual rights have been trod upon, the response has been emphatic and swift. Angry farmers, ranchers, and small businessmen have gone to court to express their indignation with the federal government and to challenge everything from federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulations to federal rules governing Environmental Impact Statements (EIS).

Possibly the most famous case of an individual fighting the feds—and winning—involved Ferrol G. "Bill" Barlow, the owner of a Pocatello, Idaho, electrical and plumbing installation business, who succeeded in keeping OSHA inspectors away because they had no warrant to search for possible hazards at his shop.

Barlow has become a folk hero to small businessmen; Ronald Reagan used Barlow in his 1976 Presidential campaign speeches to symbolize what one man who believed in free enterprise could do by battling the bureaucracy. In 1978, almost three years after Barlow first stood fast against the inspectors, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Supreme Court ruled 5 to 3 in his favor, stating that the Fourth Amendment protection against the unauthorized search of a person's home applied to commercial buildings as well.

Many people, small businessmen in particular, "feel helpless under the immense power the government has," Barlow observes. "If the government says to do it, they figure they have to do it." Despite the fact that people finally are realizing they "have been regulated to death," he points out it is nonetheless costly and time-consuming to oppose regulations through the courts.

Basil Whiting, deputy assistant secretary of the Department of Labor, conceded that businesses nationally, not just in the West, are besieged by regulations coming at them from a vast number of agencies. There are at least eighty-five regulatory agencies within the federal government, some independent, such as the Federal Trade Commission and the National Transportation Safety Board, and many part of larger, cabinet-level departments, such as OSHA (Labor Department) and the Fish and Wildlife Service (Interior Department). Although no one seems sure of the total, estimates of the annual cost of regulation in America range from several billion dollars up to and beyond $100 billion. Whiting, however, does not oppose regulation. "The businessman who says, 'Stop telling me what to do, it's my own business,' is missing the point. His business has effects on other people," he argues.

Even some federal bureaucrats, however, are beginning to recognize the political effects of runaway regulation. In an effort to stem the rising tide of public indignation, President Carter has created the Regulatory Council to try to dispose of obviously unnecessary regulations; it is chaired by Environmental Protection Agency chief Douglas Costle, whose EPA is high on the list of most-hated agencies. A Carter aide points to the elimination in recent years of 928 OSHA rules as unnecessary and counterproductive, saying that changes of this sort are an effort to respond to the current national mood.

Among those who believe they have the most to lose from federal heavy-handedness are western ranchers, both sheep raisers and cattlemen—those third- and fourth-generation descendants of the pioneers who today are part cowboy and part canny executive.

CONCERNED RANCHers gathered in Denver this summer to share their dismay and antipathy toward the feds at a meeting of the Public Lands Council, a "Western livestock public land users organization." Many of them, such as Bud Purdy, the Picabo, Idaho, rancher who uses a fair amount of public acreage for grazing, are outraged by a 1975 federal court decision requiring the Bureau of Land Management to file Environmental Impact Statements before any range improvements can be made. A total of 174 million acres of federal rangeland would be subject to EIS evaluation.

Because of the EIS ruling, Purdy said, he would have to reduce his cattle by 300 head, lowering his income by $100,000. Only one-third of Purdy's land is in public hands, but it is very important land; its use "might make the difference between staying in the business or getting out for something else," he said. "Somewhere in the Department of Interior or BLM, the environmentalists have gotten hold," Purdy said. "I don't know anybody out there who doesn't want range improvements, but our hands are goddam near tied right now."

John Weber, an Alturas, California, rancher, said one of the proposals of the EIS affecting the land he uses would, if carried out, reduce his head of cattle by 73 percent. He blames consequences of this sort on a lack of coordination by the concerned parties, and while not finding fault with the BLM per se, he believes the problem is that the federal agencies are too susceptible to pressures from environmental groups.

"There's no question there will be an adverse economic impact on some of these areas" as a result of the EIS procedure, said Maxwell Lieurance, chief of the BLM's Division of Rangeland Management in Washington. But Lieurance believes the effect will be short-term and losses can be recovered. "It may be an intrusion, but the Bureau of Land Management is mandated to manage thes lands. . . .We have to look at other need besides livestock foraging," he said.

But the federal regulations on lan have placed long-time cattlemen in bind. As Herb Metzger, a rancher fror Flagstaff, Arizona, put it, "We have tw ways to go. We can make lucrative deal with private land developers . . . or w can work on the land ourselves." Th temptation to sell out, said Metzger, di ficult as that would be for him an others who love the land, would be over whelming unless the shackles of federa restrictions are loosened.

The West is preparing for these strug gles, and woe to the politician who aligr himself too closely with the federa bureaucracy, for one easy way to clea away obstacles in the path of wester self-determination is to vote those obsta cles out of office in 1980.

Big government liberalism is hardly view that appeals to western voters thes days, and well-heeled conservative or ganizations are licking their chops at th prospects of beating liberal Democra Frank Church of Idaho and Alan Cran ston of California in their reelection bic next year. Both are seen as being to close to Washington interests and, ar iomatically, too far from their constitu encies. (Colorado's Senator Gary Har another liberal Democrat, has side stepped the brunt of the conservativ attack by taking a relatively tough stan on national defense matters.)

Presidential aspirants Jerry Brown Ronald Reagan, and John Connally ar in a position to appeal to the West discontent. Ted Kennedy, on the othe hand, starts off as an outsider, and Pres dent Carter, who failed to win the We last time, is in a poor position to win now, against the likely Republican can didates. Politically and economically the West can no longer be treated as lesser region among supposed equals. A Kirkpatrick Sale foretold in his 197 book *Power Shift*, a new social and ecc nomic order is emerging as the popula tion center moves ever southward an westward to the "sunbelt" of the Unite States.

The West isn't trying to make anyon suffer for its previous junior status, onl to get its share and have its say. Wit more people, more talented and aggres sive leadership, and more self-confi dence than ever before, the West is th region of the future. Proud of their ne muscle, westerners will be happy t prove their strength the next time th bullies from Washington come aroun looking to pick a fight. ❑

Woe to the politician who aligns himself too closely with the federal bureaucracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOMBER COMMAND: The Myths and Reality of the Strategic Bombing Offensive 1939–45, by Max Hastings. Dial Press, 399 pp., $12.95.

War criminals at large

GEOFFREY WHEATCROFT

THE SUBJECT OF THIS ENthralling book is one of the epic campaigns, and the greatest war crime, of World War II. Hastings describes how Great Britain created a vast force of heavy aircraft to bombard Germany in the belief that this would, on its own, bring victory. It did not do so. The contribution made by strategic bombing to the Allied victory is a complicated and probably unanswerable question. The only certain achievement was the destruction of most of the cities of Germany and the killing of some 600,000 Germans, almost all of them civilians. The human cost on the British side was 55,573 airmen dead.

The story is especially British from the outset. The possibilities of air power had startled the combatant powers during the First World War. In other countries there were proponents of the doctrine of independent aerial bombing—the Italian Douhet, the American Mitchell—but only Great Britain formally embraced it. The Royal Air Force was established as a separate service in 1917, with Trenchard its first chief of staff. "The heavy bomber was the visible expression of the RAF's determination to make a contribution to the war independent of the other two services, as was the weakness of its air-ground and air-sea coordination techniques." Hastings adds that "the prewar RAF was geared to the execution of a strategic terror bombing campaign and this was the core of the Trenchard doctrine."

That is perhaps too sweeping, for ambiguity surrounded the RAF's role from the beginning. In 1917 Winston Churchill had observed: "We have seen the combative spirit of the people roused, and not quelled, by the German air raids. . . . Therefore our air offensive should consistently be directed at striking at the bases and communications upon whose structure the fighting power of his armies . . . depends. Any injury which comes to the civil population . . . must be regarded as incidental and inevitable." In 1928 Air Vice Marshal Sir John Steel (later to be the first C-in-C of Bomber Command) could say: "There has been a lot of nonsense talked about killing women and children. Every objective I have given my bombers is a point of military importance. . . . Otherwise the pilots, if captured, would be liable to be treated as war criminals." At much this time British aircraft, commanded by a young officer called Arthur Harris, put down a rising of tribesmen (and women and children) in Iraq by bombing them into submission.

The ambiguity was heightened by a confusion about what bombers could, as well as what they should, do. Air war gripped the imagination of public and politicians in the interwar years. The popular view, as well as the RAF doctrine, was expressed by Baldwin in a Commons debate of 1933: "The bomber will always get through." Thus the moral question was sidestepped. Fleets of bombers could sail unopposed to the enemy's territory in daylight, dropping

GEOFFREY WHEATCROFT is literary editor and columnist for the Spectator *(London). This review is reprinted from the September 29 issue of the* Spectator, *with kind permission.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their bombs just where they wanted, on the "bases and communications."

This doctrine was rendered completely meaningless during the thirties by the development of the fast, well-armed monoplane fighter, a development that took place on the British side with no thanks to the Air Ministry or the air marshals: But for private initiative there would have been no Spitfire or Hurricane in 1940. As the RAF discovered with calamitous cost in 1939–40, the bomber did *not* get through. The airmen had seen themselves as the new cavalry. In practice, flying Wellingtons and Whitleys in daylight against Messerschmitt fighters was all too like a cavalry charge against machine-gun posts. There was an answer. By 1943–44 the long-range fighter (the Mustang) had come into being, providing cover for the bombers deep inside Germany. Daylight precision bombing at last became possible. Until this technological breakthrough took place, the Air Ministry dismissed it as impossible.

In 1940 the RAF's prewar promises were shown to be empty. It was still constrained from bombing larger rather than smaller targets. At the outbreak of war Roosevelt had appealed to the belligerents to renounce the bombing of civilians. The *Daily Mail* in January 1940 condemned proposals for bombing Germany: "We should do nothing unworthy of our cause." Sir Kingsley Wood, secretary for air, could deplore a planned attack with the words: "Are you aware it is private property? Why, you will be asking me to bomb Essen next." (These words are still sometimes quoted to show Wood in a ludicrous light. They seem to me to represent an eminently proper attitude.)

One undefended city after another was "browned," as the repellent RAF phrase had it.

THE NEXT TURNING POINT came with the fall of France. During the year when England stood alone, a powerful impetus was added to the RAF's traditional belief in strategic bombing: There was nothing else to do. Sensibilities hardened, and there were calls for revenge. It is a nice question—maybe an idle one—which side began the bombing of cities. The Luftwaffe's raids on Warsaw and Rotterdam followed the age-old bombardment of towns that stood in the way of a military advance. The misnamed "Blitz" on British cities began in anticipation of an invasion, and it began five months after the RAF had first bombed cities in Germany. The balance is tilted by the fact, to which we will return, that the Luftwaffe was meant as a tactical force to cooperate with the army. It was ill-suited to the long-range heavy bombing for which the RAF was designed.

There was also the crucial personal factor of Churchill. His complicated personality was a mixture of humanity and ruthlessness, above all of impetuosity and aggression. The second phase of Bomber Command's offensive was launched, as Hastings reminds us, because Churchill saw no strategic alternative. He knew that the British people did not want to surrender to Hitler; he knew too that they had no means of defeating him, until Hitler solved the problem himself by making war on the United States and Russia. In the meantime he followed the dangerous instinct that doing anything was better than doing nothing.

On June 14, 1940, bomber pilots were still reminded that "bombs are not to be dropped indiscriminately," and in the same month a government instruction to the Air Ministry said that attacks "must be made to avoid undue loss of civil life in the vicinity of the target." Yet Churchill could write on July 8: "There is only one thing that will bring Hitler down, and that is an absolutely *devastating, exterminating* attack by very heavy bombers on the Nazi homeland . . . without which I do not see a way through" (my italics, his choice of words). That quotation is well-known. Hastings has produced many others, and the great merit of his book is that it is the first to have been written on the subject since the official records were opened. His method is to alternate chapters describing the strategic and political situation with chapters describing a given Bomber Command squadron on operations at a particular time. It is a technique that works very well (though I could have done without the "human interest" pen-

PANDORA

after Odilon Redon's painting (National Gallery)

Tracing the cool rectangle, Pandora
watches her face float on the oak surface.
Already the earth shifts under her feet;
she feels the air moving near her ankles.
Snow, forgotten love, flies off the mountain
and a harsh wind pours from the mauve distance.

Pandora smiles, and her eyes narrow
while she thinks of her foolish husband
who believes evil could be contained by gods
and released into the world by a woman.

CHARLEA MASSION

CHARLEA MASSION is a physician in North Carolina. Her poems have appeared in Stonecloud *and* Sequoia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ortraits of individual airmen).

Thus, the second phase of Bomber ommand's war is illustrated by 10 quadron stationed at Dishforth in orkshire in 1941. In this period the ritish were moving unmistakably to- ard "strategic bombing" (otherwise rea bombing), or as the Germans ould finally and most accurately call it, error bombing. The bombers were, in heory, aimed at military and industrial argets but on October 30, 1940, the war abinet had decided—with the odious uphemism that was to characterize this hole story—that "the civilian popula- ion around the target areas must be ade to feel the weight of the war."

The Whitleys of 10 Squadron some- imes attacked military targets, some- imes naval ones such as the U-boat ards in France (though the RAF dis- layed throughout an almost patholog- al resistance to cooperating with the oyal Navy, even when it was clear in 941–43 that the Battle of the Atlantic as the one battle where Great Britain ight actually lose the war). But they ere also now attacking cities in "crash oncentration."

What distinguished this phase, the 941 offensive, was its utter ineffectual- ty. The bombers bombed because they ad been built to bomb. Bombing in laylight was suicidal, so they bombed at ight, but they quite lacked the expertise r technology to do so accurately. In ugust, the secretary of the war cabinet, . M. Butt, conducted an independent urvey that showed that fewer than one ircraft out of eight dispatched was ombing within five miles of its target. It ubsequently became clear that almost o impact had been made on the Ger- an war economy, and that in 1940–41 ore RAF crewmen than Germans had een killed. The offensive was called off.

Now came the fateful decision. Bomb- r Command could not hit precise argets. It could not even, at that stage, eliably hit larger ones. Little damage ad been done to German cities. RAF asualties, though proportionately se- ere, were not yet overwhelming. Web- ter and Frankland's *The Strategic Air Of- ensive Against Germany* has been de- cribed as the "most ruthlessly impartial f all official histories" by A. J. P. aylor. (Taylor remains one of the most loquent critics of the bombing offen- ive, but one of the incidental effects of astings's book is to show that the ccount of it in *English History 1914–1945* s inaccurate and tendentious.) But hen Webster and Frankland say that here were now only two choices, area bombing or no bombing, they are over- simplifying the case. Hastings points out there were other options open. In fact, he is admirably judicious throughout, marshaling the facts with considerable forensic skill, though with less literary grace. (I might as well complain here about the production of the book. It is poorly printed, badly proofread, inade- quately indexed, and the references are provided in such a way as to make them impossible to use. But that's nowadays.)

As Hastings says, there was a third choice, "to persist, in the face of whatev- er difficulties, in attempting to hit preci- sion targets," and "a fourth and more realistic alternative: faced by the fact that Britain's bombers were incapable of a precision campaign, there was no com- pulsion upon the government to autho- rize the huge bomber program that was now to be undertaken. Aircraft could have been transferred to the Battle of the Atlantic or the Middle and Far East where they were so urgently need- ed . . ."

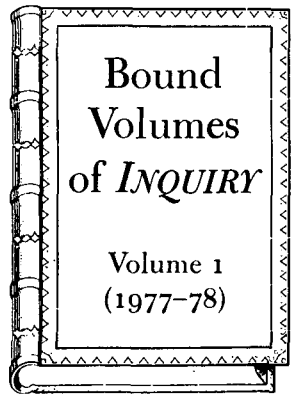
THIS IS THE VITAL POINT. There can be no exact calcula- tion of what proportion of the British war-economic effort Bomber Command absorbed—Taylor suggests a third. What is obvious is that every bomber produced meant other material not produced. And what is also indisput- able is that the lack of other material gravely impaired the conduct of the war, first defensive, then offensive. There were barely enough fighters for the Bat- tle of Britain. Admiral Cunningham, who was in a good position to judge, thought that Crete could have been held with half a dozen more fighter squad- rons, and it was lack of fighters that led to the sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and the loss of Singapore. Coastal Com- mand never had enough long-range air- craft for convoy duty. Later, the lack of landing craft and of tanks was one of the factors that delayed the invasion of Europe. All of this could reasonably be blamed on the massive production of bombers.

At all events the decision was taken for a great campaign of area bombing, a decision symbolized by the appointment of Sir Arthur Harris as C-in-C Bomber Command in February 1942. Harris was a commander of extremely strong personality, coarse and ruthless, single- minded in his aim: the systematic de- struction of German cities. He success- fully resisted all attempts to divert his bombers from this end, either to sup- porting the Navy or to what he dismis- sed as "panaceas," bombing the Ger- man installations for producing synthe- tic oil or ballbearings. His new cam- paign was inaugurated on March 28, 1942, with the 234-aircraft attack on Lübeck, a medieval town, strategically insignificant but in Harris's words, "more like a fire-lighter than a human habitation." Lübeck was burned to the ground, the first of many.

The new campaign was fought de- spite a slight but perceptible current of unease and protest. The public critics were Richard Stokes, the Labour MP, and Bishop Bell of Chichester. There were also private protests. Lord Salis- bury—not a left-wing pacifist—thought that German atrocities did not justify reprisals: "We do not take the devil as our example." Many who lived through the war will, in honesty, admit that they felt no misgivings at the time about the area bombing. Their consciences were not just numbed by the horror of total war. There was besides a policy of shameless official mendacity designed to conceal the great change in policy, the true nature of the offensive being fought.

Whatever may be said of Harris, he was utterly unhypocritical about his pursuit of death and destruction. Not so his political masters. Students of Ques- tion Time in the House of Commons will

HANDSOME



now available;
$25.00 postpaid.

Send check or money order to
INQUIRY, 1700 Montgomery St.,
San Francisco, CA 94111

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not be surprised to learn that Ministers of the Crown are given in wartime to telling lies even more outrageous and willful than the ones they tell in peacetime. On May 27, 1943, Clement Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister, replied amidst cheers: "No, there is no indiscriminate bombing. As has been repeatedly stated in the House, the bombing is of those targets which are most effective from the military point of view." On March 31, 1943, two days after Lübeck, Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Air Minister, had replied: "The targets of Bomber Command are always military," and he repeated this answer on December 2. When they uttered these words both men knew them to be flagrant lies. Churchill, Attlee, and Sinclair, as well as being colleagues in the government, were also of course the leaders of the three great political parties. Less than one cheer for democracy, I think.

The third phase of the bomber war lasted from Harris's appointment until mid-1944. The Ruhr towns were attacked from March to June 1943, Hamburg from July to November, Berlin from November until March 1944. Hamburg was the first great display of the RAF's new method, the fire raid. Under much more sophisticated techniques of electronic navigation, of marking and of bombing, the city was first broken up by explosives—"cookies" designed to blow open doors and windows—and then rained with incendiaries. Repeated raids overwhelmed the civil defense and fire services. Bomber Command attacked Hamburg on July 24, again on July 27, with American attacks between. The raid of the 27th created a vast firestorm destroying 22 square kilometers of the city and killing an estimated 42,000 people. Fifteen months later Harris would boast that Bomber Command "has virtually destroyed 45 out of the leading 60 German cities."

This third phase is sometimes spoken of as Harris's time of supreme independence, but it was in the final phase, from the summer of 1944 to the end of the war, that his defiance of orders and the criminality of British bombing reached their apogee. In the middle of 1944 the U.S. Army Air Force at last achieved the one great victory of the bombing war. Precision bombers struck at the oil plants, while their Mustang escorts successfully fought the German fighters. The Luftwaffe was deprived of aircraft, pilots, and fuel, and became almost impotent.

UNTIL NOW THE BOMBING battle had been fought on something like equal terms. Although Bomber Command's Lancasters wrought terrible havoc on German cities, the Luftwaffe nightfighters inflicted very heavy losses on the RAF: The nightfighters almost got the upper hand at the end of 1943. With the defeat of the Luftwaffe, the Allied air forces could do just what they wanted. Harris was ordered to join the attack on oil. He had always scorned "panaceas," indeed any diversion of his forces from area bombing, and had had to be forced to contribute bombing capacity for the Normandy landings. He was determined to continue his independent campaign against cities, to prove that Bomber Command could win the war on its own, as he had always claimed. Now he refused to obey his orders, daring his superiors to dismiss him. They did not. The full extent of Harris's insubordination—and of the Air Ministry's and Churchill's weakness—is revealed by Hastings.

Churchill tried to pretend that the bombing campaign had nothing to do with him.

Instead, Harris continued on his own way. One undefended city after another was devastated from end to end by explosion and fire, "browned" as the repellent RAF phrase had it. More bombs were dropped by Bomber Command in the last quarter of 1944 than in the whole of 1943. The most famous target in this last phase was Dresden in February 1945. The fact that it was packed with refugees and that—as Hastings demonstrates conclusively—the destruction was deliberately meant as a warning to the Russians has made the name of Dresden one of especial horror. But Dresden was no different in kind from the other terror raids before, and scarcely different in degree from some. For that matter the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were no different in kind from the raids on Germany.

Hastings describes in detail the destruction of just one city in this last terrible campaign whose main purpose was to satisfy Harris's vanity and the RAF's collective amour propre. Darmstadt was a beautiful old town in southwest Germany, economically insignificant and untouched until September 11, 1944, when it was "browned" and 12,300 of its inhabitants were killed. As the harrowing narrative shows, some were burned to death, most were suffocated in their air-raid shelters.

What would have justified this slaughter? Harris made this claim in his memoirs: "Bombing proved a comparatively humane method. For one thing, it saved the flower of the youth of this country from being mown down by the military in the field, as it was in Flanders in the war of 1914–18." This argument fails on its own terms. When Harris became C-in-C in February 1942, Bomber Command's casualties, killed and captured, were 7,448. By the end of the war they were 72,530. The dead were almost all officers and NCO's; not the public school infantry subalterns of the first war but lower-middle-class boys chosen for their intelligence and education. Their numbers exceeded the British Army officers killed in the Great War. They went to their deaths with great courage, against high odds. They were as much the victims of the bombing campaign as were the Germans they killed. Far from saving lives, the strategic bombing offensive was, as Taylor has said, the Somme of 1939–45, and Harris its Haig.

If one wished to praise Harris it would be by comparing him with Churchill, on whose reputation area-bombing is the terrible stain. What was especially reprehensible was the way in which Churchill tried at the end of the war to dissociate himself from the bombing. As we have seen, he was an enthusiast for area bombing from the time he became prime minister, and he was egged on by his loathsome crony Lindemann (Lord Cherwell), who thought up the charmless expression "de-housing"; in its name 3.3 million dwellings were destroyed. After the war Churchill could still write—privately—to an air marshal "We should never allow ourselves to apologize for what we did to Germany." But he had the instincts of a professional politician, and foresaw a reaction. On March 28, 1945, he drafted a memorandum: "It seems to me the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed. . . . The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing." The Air Ministry forced Churchill to withdraw this self-serving document, but he had his revenge. Churchill did not mention Bomber Command in his victory broadcast, no campaign medal was struck for its aircrew, Harris—who is still with us at 87, living in South Africa—was not allowed to issue a final dispatch and received no peerage. Churchill attempted, with some degree of success, to pretend that the bombing campaign had never happened, and that if it had, it had nothing to do with him.

The central phrase of my opening sentence requires explanation, though not qualification. The crimes of National Socialism, which were inspired and approved by Hitler, were without parallel in history, but they were not *war* crimes. Nor were Stalin's, for that matter. Extermination and slave labor have no necessary connection with war. Both Germany and Russia committed what could correctly be called war crimes, but these were outdone by the British bombing campaign.

There is a question of profound interest here that Hastings does not explore. Liddell Hart commented after the 1,000-bomber raid on Cologne in May 1942—Harris's first great publicity stunt—that it was "the most barbarous, and unskilled, way of winning a war that the world has yet seen." It took an intelligent conservative, Liddell Hart's confrère J. F. C. Fuller, to go further and see that totalitarian powers waged war as efficiently as they could. They had avoided strategic bombing because they recognized its inefficiency: Neither Luftwaffe nor Red Air Force was ever seriously equipped for heavy bombing. He also noted the contradiction between a policy of bombing aimed at the morale of the enemy population and the policy of unconditional surrender. For Fuller, "the object of war is not slaughter and devastation but to persuade the enemy to change his mind." Fuller wrote a fierce attack on the bombing campaign in August 1943 for the *Evening Standard*; its then editor Michael Foot refused to publish it.

It took a radical pacifist, the American Dwight Macdonald, to go further and suggest that there might be a deeper significance in the fact that it was the democracies that relied on strategic bombing, and built the atomic bomb. It was partly that the industrial democracies possessed the economic resources: Even the United States managed to spend some $43 billion on bombing. But there was more to it than that. Dynastic autocrats had fought limited wars with limited means for limited ends. The Second World War was a total war: It was a People's War; it was unlimited—Unconditional—in aim. The means were unlimited too. It was the age of collective responsibility and collective guilt. Bomber Command was punishing the German people, as well as defeating them.

Macdonald had commented early in 1944 that looking at Europe was "like living in a house with a maniac who may rip up the pictures, burn the books, slash up the rugs and furniture at any moment." He was appalled at the destruction of things as well as lives, and rightly so. The finest creations of the human spirit are not more or less precious than life itself. The question of whether it is better to destroy a great building or to destroy a child's life is best left to those who like idle, abstract speculation: Neither should be destroyed.

It is the physical devastation that is still with us and which makes it impossi-

LibertyPress
LibertyClassics

What Should Economists Do?

By James M. Buchanan

This collection brings together Buchanan's important essays on method, many of them previously unpublished. Such a volume, note H. Geoffrey Brennan and Robert D. Tollison in their preface, "provides relatively easy access to a group of significant papers on methodology in economics, written by a man whose work has spawned a methodological revolution in the way economists and other scholars think about government and governmental activity."

James M. Buchanan is University Distinguished Professor and General Director of the Center for Study of Public Choice, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. As a founder of the burgeoning subdiscipline of public choice, and as a public finance theorist and father of a modern school of public finance, Buchanan's work has had worldwide recognition.

Hardcover $8.00, Paperback $3.50.

We pay postage, but require prepayment, on orders from individuals. Please allow four to six weeks for delivery. To order this book, or for a copy of our catalog, write:
Liberty*Press*/Liberty*Classics*
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. E10
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ble for an Englishman born after the war to travel through Germany without a sense of shame, seeing Hamburg and Berlin, seeing medieval Nuremberg, which Allied aircraft burnt to the ground and where Allied prosecutors later had the effrontery to accuse Goering and Kesselring of bombing Coventry and Rotterdam; seeing, worst of all, Würzburg (not mentioned by Hastings), once the baroque gem of Europe. It was a town of such complete unimportance that it was left alone. Until, that is, March 16, 1945, after Dresden, less than nine weeks before VE Day, when the German armies were on the point of final collapse and when there was nothing else left to destroy. That night, using considerable resources of human ingenuity and inventiveness, Bomber Command razed the town to the ground in slightly under twenty minutes. Würzburg, like 600,000 Germans, had surrendered unconditionally.

***THE STATE OF THE LANGUAGE*, ed. by Leonard Michaels and Christopher Ricks. University of California Press. 609 pp., $14.95.**

Status report

NOEL PERRIN

SO WHAT IS THE STATE OF the English language? Ask twenty people and you'll get—not twenty different answers, but still, variations on three or four sharply differing ones. One group, comprising most of the older people you ask, will say that English is in a bad way. Standards have fallen, Webster's heirs have abdicated, chaos is loosed. People no longer distinguish between "uninterested" and "disinterested"; every dialect is as good as every other dialect; those whose job it should be to maintain correctness are instead actively fomenting trouble.

Another group, which would include most of the optimists, will say that English is in a vital, growing phase. Free at last from the formality and prudery that have characterized it for the past two centuries, it is the true language for a democratic age. At some cost in elegance, to be sure, it has become responsive, open, sincere. And that's cool.

Still a third group, best described by the absence from it of many white males, would make an answer that simply ignores both the positions described above. Members of this group would be concerned not so much with actual changes that have occurred in the language, but with a discovery that they have made about it: that it is sexist, elitist, patriarchal. A weapon to destroy other people's cultures. A consciousness-molder that stamps the consciousnesses of more than half of all its users with a little label that says INFERIOR.

Finally, a fourth group (which would include, I guess, very few readers of this magazine) would greet the question with a truly sincere shrug or a "be fucked if I know." (Either of these responses would give some support to the claims of group two.)

All those not in the fourth group will be interested in *The State of the Language*. It is a fascinating book. It doesn't quite live up to its title, but it still has more to say about how English is used, and why, and by whom, than any book I have ever read.

If it were to live up to its title, it would have to be quite a different kind of book altogether; it would have to have a point of view. *The State of the Language* doesn't. It comprises fifty-five essays on different aspects of English (well, actually, about fifty-three, plus a couple of irrelevancies such as an essay on the effects that modern English has had on modern Russian; a charming essay, too, but concerned with the state of quite another language). These are punctuated at intervals by eight poems having to do with language, and preceded by a very brief introduction that is the weakest piece of writing in the book. It not only gives no overview, it doesn't really say anything.

Most of the fifty-five essays, though, have a great deal to say. With a few exceptions, they seem to have been written especially for this book, and they cover an enormous range. There are essays on the language of architecture (one of the best), the language of doctors (weak), of lawyers (so-so), of America Presidents, of philosophers (anothe winner), of computers. There are essay on black English (three of them), o Irish English, on the interaction of Eng lish and Yiddish. There is a gem of a essay on the language of psychotherap —an essay so illuminating that you win up understanding more about wha transactions occur in analysis than yo

The book includes a gem of an essay on the language of psychotherapy.

do by actually having been in therap There is a fine essay on the evolution our own time of a language to describ states of consciousness—if you want learn its vocabulary, listen to the ne several teenagers you meet. (But you have to read André Kukla's essay *understand* the language; the teenage merely use it.)

And—to use the language of adverti ing—there is much, much more. Even single out all the other especially goc essays would take more space than have. Instead I will just tease you on b mentioning Edmund White's outstan ing "The Political Vocabulary Homosexuality" and Angela Carter equally good discussion of the languag of feminism. And Ian Robinson on di nity in language, Marina Vaizey on th language of art criticism, Walter Ben Michaels on formalism. I could go on f paragraphs with this praise if I weren saving the rest of my space to talk abo two flaws in the book.

THE FIRST IS A CURIOU limitation. English is, of cours a world language, and the stru ture of the book reflects this. The boo has two editors: one English and o American. It has sixty-four contributo (one essay has joint authors); and them thirty-one are Americans, twent six are English, one is Irish, one Austra ian, one Canadian, and the other fo Anglo- or Canadio- or Irish-America So far so good. But the contribution the Australian is a bad poem—and Ne Zealand, the West Indies, Englis speaking Africa, and India are nowher Scotland doesn't fare too well, eithe This is really a book on the state of th language in England and America, wi a brief nod at Ireland.

NOEL PERRIN, formerly chairman of the English department at Dartmouth, wrote Dr. Bowdler's Legacy: A History of Expurgated Books in England and America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Worse is to come. Of the thirty-one Americans, sixteen are Californians. Of the sixteen Californians, twelve are from Berkeley. Similarly, a very large number of the English contributors are from Oxford and Cambridge. The Berkbridge-Oxbridge slant is pronounced. Perhaps that is why, though the language of the arts and the professions is so well represented, there is almost nothing about the language of the factory or the military base or the filling station. (There is a fairish report on English prison language, and a miserable if well-meant attempt, written by a leading California banker, to describe business language.)

The other flaw, as I have already suggested, is that the two editors didn't edit enough. They obviously did something right, or there wouldn't be so many good essays in this book. But they seem to have been nervous about controlling, much less rejecting, their more prominent contributors, so that most of the really bad pieces are by well-known people. Kingsley Amis on malapropisms is perhaps the worst, but Anthony Burgess on the technical problems of dubbing films comes close—he is readable but wholly out of place in this book—while the brief piece by Ishmael Reed amounts to an extended raspberry. Reed's rude noise sounds especially foolish coming right after the two excellent pieces on black English by Geneva Smitherman and Monroe Spears.

And, what I mind most—these two editors pull absolutely nothing together. Leonard Michaels at least contributed a good essay of his own (not up to his namesake Walter's, however); and Ricks, though his piece on clichés has that painful hyperself-consciousness that is the mark of the English intellectual in the post-Imperial age, certainly understands why clichés are to be defended. But when, back in Cambridge, he writes the tiny preface (Michaels in Berkeley must have been busy on a new novel), he can think of no better way to end it than with a feeble personification: "A preface is always tempted to assure others and itself," he writes, "that 'here is no random collection of, etc., etc.'"

If that preface was to become a person, able to suffer temptation and offer assurances, Ricks shouldn't have aborted it after the fourth paragraph. That's no preface: It's an embryo, a miscarriage. And it comes before a book that, while no random collection, is no living whole, either. If the editors had made it one, this book would be a stunner. As it is, it's merely very good. ❏

THE BIOLOGY OF PEACE AND WAR: Men, Animals, and Aggression, by Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. Viking Press, 294 pp., $15.00.

Heart of darkness?

MARY MIDGLEY

IS MAN AN APE OR AN angel? Is aggression a cultural or a biological matter? Polarized readers, determined to enforce this kind of sharp, simple antithesis, can of course make up their minds about this admirable book without reading it. For them there can be no biology of peace and war, since these are cultural matters. But the reasons for this polarization are most obscure. Nature and society do not compete; they are not alternative but complementary sets of causes. And, as Eibl-Eibesfeldt points out, they are themselves intelligibly connected, since society is a natural growth, not something imposed by supernatural forces. A full account of any complex phenomenon should refer to both. Anthropologists, when describing some unfamiliar piece of behavior, do not just report it flatly, as if human beings might in principle do or want absolutely anything. They try to explain the point of the action, to relate it to a natural structure of motives that their readers share. Admiration of alien cultures would be impossible without such a structure.

The human emotional repertoire, though vast, is finite. Of course it expresses itself through culture, and it would be absurd to neglect this. But then no serious person ever has neglected it, least of all ethologists like Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Konrad Lorenz, to whom that neglect has, so strangely, been attributed. They have in fact always stressed the crucial importance of culture, and have been careful to distinguish sharply between natural motives and the institutions that express them, before going on to consider the relationships between them.

MARY MIDGLEY is senior lecturer in philosophy at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. She is the author of Beast and Man: The Roots of Human Nature.

In the present case, they fully understand the difference between war and aggression. War is a complex and specific institution. Aggression is a general motivational pattern, a wide range of behavior with a common emotional backing and a common general function. That function—as ethologists have always insisted—is not to kill, nor even to harm, but to drive away. Aggression is not necessarily destructive. An angry creature is usually satisfied when its opposite number vanishes or shrinks into insignificance. The function of attack here is to space social creatures out in such a way that they can carry on

their complex lives without too much conflict and confusion.

The relation of such a general motive to the many particular institutions that can partly express it in human life is neither close nor simple, but it is still vital. In general a human institution, whatever its practical merits, can hardly thrive if it fails to appeal to some natural taste. Many activities, such as joking and dancing, art and religion, can be of great practical use to a group because they are bond-forming. But they could never have been imposed, cold, by rulers who simply wanted to form bonds among their subjects. They work because they appeal to natural tastes.

Such social forms owe their initial shape and their strength to a natural feeling, and must still depend on it even when they have taken on other functions. Thus we cannot argue, as Marvin Harris does about war, that because it has an economic use there is no need to consider its emotional appeal. Primitive war is not conducted simply as an economic device: The emotions surrounding it are strong, specific, and clearly expressed. Warlike display, threat, and battle are enjoyed and celebrated for their own sake, not just as a means of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bringing home the bacon. Despite cultural variation, the expressive displays involved, including those of our own armies, often parallel closely those used in fighting by other species. Man, it seems, should view the whole business quite differently. But is the apparent resemblance in fact misleading?

IF WE SERIOUSLY ASSUME that anthropoids, in their development, abandoned all instinctive emotional responses in favor of intelligent calculation, they should, it seems, have tackled competition as it arose by quietly taking counsel, dividing the land on a rational basis, controlling breeding, seeking other territory, and inventing better ways of using existing resources. To some extent, of course, these things were done. But alongside them, and often as a first resort, there has always been small-scale warfare: raids, formal battles, and what Margaret Mead calls "mild, chronic, reciprocal headhunting." Many people find this fact so painful that of late it has been widely denied. By carefully selecting one's anthropological evidence it is possible to suggest that most, or many or at least some primitive peoples (notably Bushmen, Pygmies and Eskimos) have been quite free from war and quarreling, and that all aggression results from advanced economic and political development. But the case made is unreal. Eibl-Eibesfeldt supplies full, detailed anthropological evidence of fighting, including war, among all these peoples.

The misleading impression of peacefulness seems often to have come from recent observation of groups seriously diminished by the destruction of their habitat, and united by threats from outsiders. Earlier observers tell a very different story. It is possible of course for the really determined still to stop their ears and reject all this evidence on the grounds that the writer's "ideology" must have been imperialistic. But the principle of accepting evidence only from people of exactly one's own political sympathies, and then only when it confirms one's previous impressions, is rather a desperate one. Before resorting to this extreme form of intellectual harakiri, it seems worthwhile to consider the alternatives, and therefore to look at the very careful and full examination Eibl-Eibesfeldt offers.

So what is he saying? To get rid of the travesties first: He does not say that war is inevitable. Neither did Lorenz, but Eibl-Eibesfeldt, having pointed out some further helpful traits in our motivation, is, as he says, rather more optimistic:

> I regard man as pre-adapted to life in mass societies and therefore as "good enough." His innate ethical code that tells him not to kill is supplemented by a strong pressure to make contact with those unknown to him, in other words, to fraternize. . . . The commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself" has a biological foundation.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt does not even think that our natural charity needs to be powered by hostility to an outside opponent. He flatly and repeatedly rejects the confused fatalistic acceptance of aggression as an unconquerable motive, which has so strangely been supposed to follow from accepting it as a natural one. (I suspect that the only people who really did embrace this fatalism were the "social Darwinists," and that it is the success of their doctrine in the United States that now makes it so hard for Americans to consider the possibility of natural aggression at all.)

He never suggests, either, that aggression is a pervasive motive. He treats it, in human as in animal societies, as one that appears from time to time to perform its useful spacing function, but by no means as the cement of a Hobbesian social structure based on fear. "I suspect that domination based essentially on violence is not in accordance with man's nature." Normally, bond-forming motives work effectively without it; if they fail, aggression alone cannot possibly take their place, and these bond-forming motives are in fact Eibl-Eibesfeldt's central interest. Many now would agree with him in considering these more respectable motives as innate, but would refuse to be so charitable when it comes to aggression.

This view is commonly put in the form that aggression is reactive rather than spontaneous. The point is not entirely a clear one; it may be smaller and more technical than it looks. To call aggression "reactive" is already to allow that we are equipped to react to provocation angrily—rather than, say, by flight, or by diplomacy, or by bursting into song. And indeed we are so equipped, since centers exist in the human brain, as in the brains of other mammals, to produce this and only this reaction. "Rage can actually be reproduced by electrical stimulation of the regions concerned." What follows? If we consider aggression as purely reactive, it seems that, if an individual was never provoked and never saw anyone else provoked, presumably these centers would remain inactive in him all his life. Since nobody could possibly be s shielded, the point is fairly academic.

But there is also, as Eibl-Eibesfeld says, something odd neurologicall about the idea of such a purely passiv center: "The question also arise whether a purely reactive system can b constructed out of ganglion cells that ar inherently spontaneous. . . . Even thos that act purely by reflex, spontaneousl show an increasing readiness to dis charge, and many start up spontaneous ly." Such centers are therefore, as h points out, normally inhibited by other if the occasion is unsuitable. In particu lar, as the author stresses, cultura emphasis on a motive like aggressio results in training that strengthens th centers involved. Correspondingly, culture that emphasizes the objection to aggression will train the centers tha resist it. And it is this deliberate training not the absence of aggressive impulses i the first place, that produces the "non aggressive cultures."

This account seems both very con vincing and completely free from siniste political consequences. Its moral is tha we are equipped for anger, but by n means doomed to it, and that our free dom lies in self-knowledge.

PEALE'S MUSEUM 1784–1854: Science, Art and Adventure in the Afterglow of the American Revolution, by Charles Coleman Sellers. W. W. Norton & Co., 360 pp., $14.95.

People's schoo

GUY DAVENPORT

CHARLES WILLSON PEAL (1741–1827), saddle-maker, en graver, portrait painter, soldie in the Revolution, scientist, archeologis anthropologist, and inventor of th museum as a democratic school for th people (zoology arranged by phylum genus, and species; botany; geography portraits; a menagerie), is one of the fe geniuses of whom it can be said that h made a fine art of fatherhood. It was hi plan that each of his fourteen children g from the cradle to the easel, the labora tory, or the lecture room. Which, with

GUY DAVENPORT is a critic and short-story writer. His latest collection of stories is entitled Da Vinci's Bicycle *(Johns Hopkins Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ip or two, they did.

They were: Raphael, painter; Remrandt, painter (portraits of Washing-on, Jefferson, Napoleon); Titian Ram-ay the First (a genius who died at 18), 'itian Ramsay the Second (a replace-ient for his brother, he became some-ning of a black sheep, fought with imon Bolivar, explored the West with Major Long, and sailed with Wilkes on ie famous South Sea and Antarctic ex-edition); Rubens, who introduced the omato to Philadelphia and founded the eale Museum in Baltimore; Angelica, ho married Alexander Robinson, a oston merchant who was ashamed of is in-laws because they painted por-aits and hob-nobbed with flighty peo-le like Thomas Jefferson and charged ie public 25 cents a head to see stuffed nimals); Sophonisba, who married oleman Sellers and was the mother of ie Escol Sellers who sued Mark Twain hen he invented Colonel Escol Sellers r *The Gilded Age*, choosing a name un-kely to have been given an actual hu-an being, and the ancestor of the au-or of the book here being reviewed; osalba; Vandyke (who died an infant); harles Linnaeus (who named his chil-ren Simon Bolivar, Izabella Carapaba, nd Hercules Tescier); Aldrovand (a ame that was a bit much even for a eale, for Ulisse Aldrovandi, sixteenth-entury Bolognese naturalist; they got old feet and renamed him Franklin); nd three adopted children, the deaf-ute son of General Hugh Mercer; harles Peale Polk, a nephew and ainter; Betsy, a niece.

He was thrice married. To marry his ird wife, Hannah Moore, Peale had to odify his Deism to conform to her Quaker piety. He outlived his three ives, and just before he died, in his ighties, he was courting a fourth to hom he presented as an engagement resent a set of Peale's Patented Porce-in Teeth Guaranteed Neither to Yel-ow nor Decay.

The museum, which lasted from 1784 to its dispersal in 1854, began as a gal-ry for Peale's portraits. Since the Ren-ssance, antiquarians and enthusiasts ad had collections of curiosities. None, however, was arranged like a textbook, as Peale's was in Philadelphia; none was based on Rousseau's idea of rational entertainment (enjoy and learn); none offered courses of lectures in the evening. Volney, the author of *The Ruins*, an influential and much discussed theory that all tyrannies come to disastrous ends (it caused Shelley to write "Ozymandias"), visited Peale's museum and called it the cathedral of enlightened man. Alexander von Humboldt, the great German naturalist, gave it his admiration, approval, and blessing. Jefferson, a frequent contributor, was one of its most ardent supporters, and if Congress and the Federalists had not been so strongly opposed, he would have made it our national museum of natural history—a destiny reserved for the Smithsonian, its imitator.

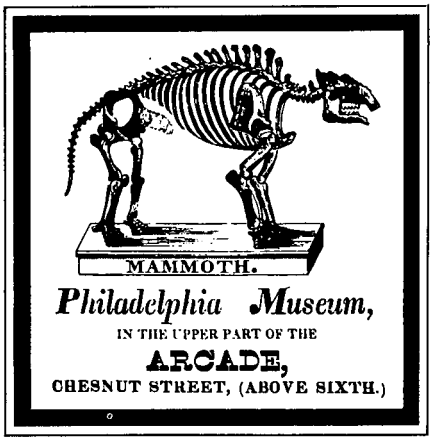
When Lewis and Clark set out, they had orders to bring back a mammoth.

The first triumph of the museum was the mammoth. Bones of this beast had been around for years, causing all manner of speculation. It was the Great Incognitum. Jefferson, who called it the Ohio Elephant, was a child of his time and believed in the chain of being: the beautifully graduated scheme of creation wherein everything was scaled from low to high—from shrew to whale for the mammals, from minnow to shark for the fish. It was unthinkable that any link in the chain could be missing, and part of Lewis and Clark's orders when they set out was to bring back a mammoth, or Incognitum. (The word *mammoth* Peale got from Cuvier, who got it from the Russians; it is the Yakut word *mamont*, meaning "creature from the earth," the *nt* looking in Russian, MAMOHT, like a typo for *th*, which somebody corrected.)

Peale and a committee of his children traced the source of the various mammoth bones they'd bought to a farm in New York. There (as in the painting Peale made of the scene) they drained a pond with "a mill wheel in reverse," an invention Peale made on the spot, and recovered almost a complete mammoth skeleton. This he articulated, and thus reconstructed the first prehistoric creature; it became the center and mainstay of the museum: The word *mammoth* entered the language, being first used as an adjective by a Philadelphia dairy for its largest cheese. When in 1806 Cuvier decided, with a French sense of things, that its name should be *mastodon* (for its conical teeth, which reminded him of breasts), it was too late to change, and we now use both words. The skeleton itself ended up in P. T. Barnum's traveling show, and was later thought to have been lost. It was found after the Second World War in the Museum of Paleontology in Darmstadt, West Germany, where it still stands, though without the skeleton of a mouse at its foot, as Peale always exhibited it.

THE MUSEUM WAS AN INNOvator. Alexander Wilson made the first study of American ornithology under its tutelage and inspiration. Audubon derived from it. So did Joseph Henry, of the Smithsonian. It laid the groundwork on which Agassiz would build when he came from Switzerland before the Civil War. Practically all our museums, even the technological ones, stem from Peale's seminal idea.

This handsome book is a kind of museum in itself. It has 130 illustrations and a dozen full-color plates of contemporary views, exhibits, and paintings of all the first-generation Peales. The reader who wants to know yet more about this astounding family can turn to Sellers' biography of Charles Willson Peale (1970), the definitive life. The subject is too vast for any one book. You need a whole shelf of biographies and studies to catch the essence of the Peales. Sellers does well within his scope. He gives us a sense of how the museum served as a focus of science in the young republic, how it cooperated with Franklin's Philosophical Society, how its ambience included the University of Pennsylvania and the Art Institute, how it served and was served by expeditions such as that of Wilkes and Lewis and Clark. It had lines of communication to Paris, Bor-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deaux, London, and Berlin.

Peale was constantly tempted by the public and by rival imitators to turn his enterprise into a "raree" show (as Barnum eventually did when he bought much of the holdings). It was the taste of the public at the time to be pleased more by a two-headed snake than by a normal one; the only concession Peale would make to morbid curiosity was to allow the family cow, who had six legs, to do duty as a *lusus naturae*.

The story of the museum is good solid history, but I suspect that many readers of this book will find themselves fascinated by the harmony and energy of the family. What childhoods! A father was doing successfully what billions in tax dollars and twelve dismal and useless years of schooling fail to do today. He raised a family of young scientists who studied Linnaeus, young taxidermists who stuffed Brazilian parrots and Virginia opossums, young artists who painted whole walls of images. Crates arrived daily from which emerged wildcats, prairie dogs, Carolina marsh hens. One day at breakfast everybody had to scatter before a grizzly bear who had escaped his cage.

Even the servants were artists. The black factotum who sold tickets at the door also did a brisk business in making silhouettes. Raphael and Rembrandt, together with their father, left an historical record of their time in portraits and scenes that is one of our greatest cultural heritages. In their hands the fine arts and science were integrated; now, in our time, they are not even on speaking terms. A portrait of Rousseau, the household god, hung over the mantel of their living room. They could not know that by the Age of Spock and Watson, Rousseau would be perverted beyond all recognition: personality rather than character; popularity in one's peer group, instead of accomplishment; and easy satisfaction of every whim, rather than the happiness of knowing how to do something well.

It is so characteristic of Philadelphia's later indifference to the arts that the city allowed Peale's museum to go under the auctioneer's hammer and be lost forever. No one can see the Revolution and Federalist period as a golden age, no matter how charming it is to imagine the conversation of Jefferson and von Humboldt (try to imagine a conversation between Leo Strauss and Teddy Kennedy), or how astounding it is to consider the skills mastered by a single family, but it was an age that had golden ideals and golden energy. ❏

FILM

***FRENCH POSTCARDS*, directed by Willard Huyck.**

***HEAD OVER HEELS*, directed by Joan Micklin Silver.**

***STARTING OVER*, directed by Alan J. Pakula.**

Romance à la mode

STEPHEN HARVEY

ANYONE WITH A BROAD VIEW of film history knows that one of the strengths of American movies is a trait usually scorned by the cinematically snobbish—namely, the perennial recycling of formulas. One genre or another might have a temporary decline: The Western seems lately to have gone the way of the buffalo, and the musical has been Hollywood's knock-kneed stepchild for ages now. Yet for the pop sociologist lurking within so many of us, part of the fun is to see how former movie staples get resurrected, with a few topical refurbishments to suit the tastes of the times.

In the wake of the popularity of romantic comedies like *Annie Hall* and (less accountably) *The Goodbye Girl*, Hollywood has pored over its musty album of Movie Memories, and exhumed a traditional recipe of yore—brusque first encounter followed by a few reels of tender snuggling and tongue-in-cheek banter, the inevitable pivotal spat, a siege of jabs back and forth, the obligatory pursuit and retreat, all leading up to the climactic reconciliation at fadeout. Ironically, the more aggressively the latest entries try to prove how current they are, the more deeply conventional their underlying values turn out to be. Movies like *Starting Over, French Postcards,* and *Head Over Heels* persistently strike attitudes that movie audiences would have i mediately dismissed as corny just a f years ago. If these films accurat reflect the feelings of the public for wh they're intended, we're witnessing reaction, however circumspect, agai the standard-bearers of feminism, one thing, and hedonism, for another

For all the obvious distinguishing f tures of these three films, the subter nean message is substantially the sar that it's nice nowadays for women to self-supporting, and acceptable to pc pone maternity to some vague time the future, but the quest for emotio independence is born out of narcissi and ends in isolation. Sex, meanwhile only really satisfactory when conduc with the one you love, and relationsh breed true fulfillment only when th culminate in marriage.

Of course, as the old song goes, it ai whatcha do it's the way thatcha do Even in the prewar heyday of cor romance, not every *moderne* Beatrice a Benedick were Irene Dunne and C Grant, put through their paces by director with the silken touch of L McCarey. No doubt those responsi for *French Postcards* and *Head Over H* would attribute the tepid reaction their films thus far to the lack of ma stars and blitzkrieg ad campaigns factors that didn't stop audiences l summer from tracking down the d cious *Breaking Away*. In this ca moviegoers have proven paragons of c cernment, since both *French Postcards* a *Head Over Heels* founder from the st due to their basic meanspiritedness a the perversity of insisting on the alleg charm of their heroes against all visi evidence to the contrary.

WILLARD HUYCK AN Gloria Katz, who togeth wrote and produced *Fre Postcards*, intended it to whisk them c of the obscurity to which they were cc signed after *Lucky Lady* (which th merely scripted). This film suggests haven't missed much during the fc years since that conspicuous fias since here they've muffed what shou have been a delightful movie prem —the sentimental education and atter ant culture shock of a group of Americ kids spending an academic year abro

STEPHEN HARVEY is INQUIRY's film reviewer. He is coordinator of the film study program, Museum of Modern Art, New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unlike the sort of European interlude it ostensibly describes, Huyck and Katz's packaged tour is a broadening experience only if you strenuously accent the first syllable—from start to finish an audience of presumed dolts is treated to a crash course in smug xenophobia, sitcom shorthand style.

This is the kind of movie in which everything there is to know about all the characters is divulged in their first twenty seconds on screen, lest any unexpected quirks later on confuse or alienate the audience. Our two principal innocents abroad embody a matched set of cute American gaucheries—one is a weasel-faced, bookish worrywort played by Miles Chapin), the other a wistful, laid-back romantic (David Marshall Grant). They're far too simple and ingenuous to make much headway in overcivilized Paree, but that's what makes these boys so lovable; in this movie, any effort to absorb some of that suspect foreign culture is tantamount to betrayal of their stalwart-Yankee chromosomes. Witness tearstained classmate Blanche Baker, all whines and sniffles, whose pursuit of the indigenously Gallic comes off as the ultimate in pretentious snobbery; she finally earns a bed in the psychiatric ward for her pains, only to discover that the pure love of an American boy is the sure cure for all her neuroses.

For our two sophomoric buddies, the one saving grace of Paris is, naturally, *les filles*. As we all know, beneath their façades of chic and sang-froid, Parisiennes are at heart just *femmes horizontales*, waiting to be stirred, although why someone as luscious as Marie-France Pisier (their headmistress) or level-headed as Valérie Quennessen (a Sorbonne student) should succumb to these two ciphers is difficult to fathom. Perhaps it's because, from what Huyck and Katz show us, the pickings are pretty slim over there in the Old World; Pisier's husband is a priggish pedant, Quennessen's fiancé an effete little snot, and Baker's Iranian would-be ravisher a frizzy-maned baboon.

Yet for all the filmmakers' chauvinistic toil, la belle Marie-France safeguards her nation's honor, simply by being so patently superior to all the farcical machinery around her. Pisier has redeemed more than her share of misbegotten homegrown movies (Truffaut's *Love on the Run* being a recent example); she needs only the slimmest chance to show off her inimitable flair for offbeat frollery. The typical Pisier character spends a lot of time carefully composing those languorous, patrician features of hers for the sake of her friend, the mirror, but it's not self-love that motivates Pisier: The lady is a klutz and knows it. The best she can hope for is to construct a mask of such ravishing gentility that with any luck, nobody will notice the rest. Like that other sumptuous comedienne Monica Vitti, Marie-France Pisier is a mistress of the psychic pratfall, and her gifts can't be obliterated even by the smudgy crayolas with which Huyck and Katz have daubed *French Postcards*.

NO CHESTNUTS IN BLOSSOM adorn *Head Over Heels*, which takes place in the slushy desolation of a western American city in midwinter. Although it was shot in Salt Lake City, *Head Over Heels* is actually rather vague as to its locale, but then everything about this movie is oddly tentative. In Joan Micklin Silver's past movies (principally *Hester Street* and *Between the Lines*) her full-bodied instinct for casting and characterization tended to compensate for her anemic visual sense. Although *Head Over Heels* is not nearly so aggressively lousy as *French Postcards*, it is just as obnoxious when it works hardest to disarm you. Its hero (played by John Heard) is so tunnel-visioned as to make his counterparts in *French Postcards* seem like Renaissance men. His one overriding urge is to subdue for good the captivating, albeit married young woman (Mary Beth Hurt) who fleetingly dallied with him during a brief separation from her rather dim husband. Considering the drabness of the rest of his life—a dreary job as a minor state government bureaucrat, a home that should have been levelled for a six-lane bypass years ago—his persistence makes sense.

Yet one of the many unexplored ironies of *Head Over Heels* is just how mundane the immoveable object of his affections turns out to be. Throughout you're meant to identify with his thwarted longings and root for his last-reel victory, but in fact you just share *her* impatience at his suffocating adoration, while wondering what on earth he found so special about her in the first place. Hurt's chipmunk grin and June Allyson burble are rather flimsy commodities to build an entire character on, and you're inclined to agree with her when she claims that she's a lot more ordinary than her suitor thinks she is. Beneath her petulantly cute demeanor lurks only more of the same.

Not that Mr. Irresistible Force is much of a prize either. The quiet diffidence John Heard usually exudes here translates as snide self-absorption. Like the makers of *French Postcards*, Silver tries to create sympathy for her hero by surrounding him with gargoyles to make him appealing by comparison. However, it's hard to be entranced when Heard spends most of his non-Hurt interludes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

getting the better of the blind (a newsvendor at his office); the inarticulate (Heard's well-meaning oaf of a stepfather); and the deranged (his mother, who o.d.'s with laxatives and bathing while dressed in full Harvest Moon Ball regalia—impersonated by Gloria Grahame, everyone's favorite pouty siren of the fifties).

As Silver renders them, Heard's treasured memories of the couple's brief idyll are scarcely distinguishable from the gloom that has infected the character ever since—it's all similarly opaque and uninflected. Alternately antic and mopey, this duo is so patently mismatched that the conventional happy ending, when it comes, lacks the glow of emotional conviction. The sole consolation is a hollow one: These lovers may not belong together, but they certainly deserve each other.

UNLIKE THE AFOREMENTIONED, its inferiors, Alan J. Pakula's *Starting Over* has already found an appreciative following—partly because audiences can usually tell a real class act when they see one, but also because of its knack for anticipating precisely what people might find contemporary yet comforting in a film love story at this particular moment. Those who have described it as an *Unmarried Woman* with a sex change aren't far off. After all the self-righteous broadsides in the media aimed at those poor obtuse slobs, middle-class married men, said targets deserved equal time. Hence, *Starting Over* commences with an emotionally myopic wife (Candice Bergen) walking out on her mystified husband; a composer-chanteuse of stridently off-key anthems to the glories of femalehood, she's getting her act together and wants to put it on the road solo—but her routine is strictly bus-and-truck company stuff, flat tires and all.

Husband Burt Reynolds endures the same sort of painful readjustments Jill Clayburgh survived in Mazursky's film last year—hurt pride, unfulfilled randiness, the works. Eventually he and Clayburgh herself meet cute in updated screwball fashion—while they're separately en route to an arranged blind date with each other, she thinks he's a stalking rapist and threatens to cut his balls off—or ungenteel words to that effect. Their subsequent involvement is complicated by her emotionally bruised nerves and the specter (and eventual contrite reemergence) of his ex-wife. In some respects their disagreements seem more deep-seated than *Starting Over* wants to acknowledge, but it scarcely matters—the movie succeeds on its own terms because the audience patently wants a personable couple like Reynolds and Clayburgh to reach a permanent communion.

Starting Over is undeniably marred by the cross purposes of its creators. Pakula's long-established penchant for rueful sentiment (à la *The Sterile Cuckoo, Klute, Comes a Horseman,* etc.) and Sven Nykvist's *Winter Light*–comes-to-Boston cinematography don't exactly prepare you for the irrepressible stream of one-liners provided by coscripter James L. Brooks (former head writer for The Mary Tyler Moore Show). Nevertheless, the characters have real texture and are most adroitly fleshed out by the three principal actors. Candice Bergen has usually seemed far too well bred to trouble with anything so uninhibited as acting, but here the opportunity to play someone who's supposed to be faintly ridiculous seems to have loosened her up considerably. The movie takes a few unfortunate cheap shots at this character's expense—to wit, Reynolds's grossed out reaction to her need to announce that she'd had a vaginal orgasm—but for the most part it dignifies the revelation thwarted expectations hidden beneat her veneer of blithe and misplaced sel confidence. Although Clayburgh's edg ly punctuated manner unnerved me trifle, in contrast to *Luna*, here she precisely right—her nose even seem permanently frostbitten after thirty-od New England Decembers—and h scenes with Reynolds have just the rig crackle of tension and attraction.

Yet it's Reynolds who is responsib for *Starting Over*'s most unalloyed plea ures. Now that he's learned to keep t smirks to a minimum, few actors c match his command of the intima skills of screen acting. Reynolds has lo possessed the suave slyness of a latte day Cary Grant; recently he's added this a kind of leisurely physicality o associates with Spencer Tracy in h pre–grey eminence days. A performan like this could make an audience b even the most démodé goods. When i used to purvey attitudes that much the public holds dear in the first pla —the longing for emotional perm nence, swinging singleness be damn —the result is an archetypal movie foo note for the social historians.

CLASSIFIED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING RATES: $0.25 PER WORD, MINIMUM INSERTION $5.00. SIX eleven insertions: 10 percent off: twelve or more insertions: 20 percent off. Payment must accompany insertion order: INQUIRY, Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94111. Copy should be received 30 days before each semimonthly cover date. INQUIRY reserves right to refuse advertisements that we consider to be of questionable taste or intent. Additional information regarding advertising r or terms will be sent upon request.

Education

*UNIQUE COLLEGE IN MEXICO. UNDER*graduate, graduate, and noncredit programs in English. Arts, crafts, writing, Spanish, social studies. Perpetual sunshine, inexpensive living. Mexico's most beautiful town. Free color catalogue. Instituto Allende, Apdo W, San Miguel Allende, Guanajuato, Mexico.

Publications

*WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE PHILIP*pines? Subscribe to a monthly update and analysis of current U.S.–Philippine relations, human rights, and the anti-Marcos resistance. $5/yr. Overseas $10. *Philippine Liberation Courier*, P.O. Box 24737, Oakland, CA 94623.

DO YOU LOVE MOVIES? SUBSCRIBE TO Films In Review. Career articles/filmographies. Film reviews, columns on TV films, film music, 8 & 16mm. 10 issues: $12. P.O. Box 589, NYC 10021 (Sample copy $1).

LITERATURE OF LIBERTY FEATURES bibliographical essays on interdisciplinary topics relating to the question of freedom and an open society, and abstracts current articles from nearly 400 international journals. 1979 issues included essays on John Stuart Mill and The Idea of Progress. This valuable reference tool is not available on newsstands. $12/4 issues. Send order and payment to *Literature of Liberty*, 1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

EVOLUTION—SCIENCE OR RELIGIO Send for free statement by 176 leading scientists. Am ican Humanist Association, Dept. INQ, Box Amherst, NY 14226.

NUCLEAR WAR SURVIVAL BOOK straightforward, detailed information plus essential structions will protect your loved ones during therm nuclear holocaust!! You can't afford to wait . Moneyback guarantee . . . $6.98 . . . postpaid. Lo Publications, 718B Lincoln, Wamego, KS 66547.

Services

WANTED—LIBERTARIANS WITH SPECI abilities. A spectrum of the leading libertarian publi tions, organizations, and activists has organized clearinghouse to match people with jobs. If you wo like to be among an elite group considered for respon ble positions, send your resume to The Clearinghou 325 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E., Washington, D. 20003. Faculty members, journalists, profession especially welcome.

Miscellaneous

SMOKE & FIRE KILL THOUSAN yearly, yet wider utilization of smoke detectors (pref ably photoelectric & battery) would save lives. The f insurance industry, by requiring every home & hot with the issuance of fire insurance, to have smoke det tors, would save more lives. —*W. FLAHE*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Christmas Seals by children for children.

When American schoolchildren create paintings for use on Christmas Seals, or when youngsters such as these 11-year-olds recreate the designs in three dimensions, that's a learning experience.

Christmas Seals provide other, valuable lessons for kids. They help those with asthma learn to cope with their disease. To lead normally active lives.

Give to Christmas Seals. It's a matter of life and breath®.

AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION

75th Anniversary
The "Christmas Seal" People®

Space contributed by the publisher as a public service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INQUIRY

Something different for Christmas!

Wondering what to give this year to that friend who has plenty of opinions but no information . . . to the son or daughter who thinks politics is bunk . . . to the parents who complain that good writing and straight thinking went out with the nickel postage stamp?

Why not send something different: *INQUIRY*, the voice of the new politics in America. Inform your friend, surprise your son or daughter, revive the faith of your parents. They'll thank you twenty times a year.

1st Gift—$12.50
2nd Gift—$10.00
Each Additional Gift—$7.50

Please send a year of *INQUIRY* (20 issues) and a holiday card announcing my gift to the following people.

1st Gift (please print)
Address
City State Zip

2nd Gift
Address
City State Zip

3rd Gift
Address
City State Zip

Your Name
Address
City State Zip

☐ My check is enclosed.
☐ Renew my subscription.
☐ Also enter a subscription in my name.

☐ Master Charge
☐ VISA
Acct. No. _____
Exp. Date _____

Send to: Holiday Gifts, *INQUIRY*, P.O. Box 2500, Menlo Park, CA 94025

E023

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED